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THE MOTHER'S STATUS IN DIFFERENT CULTURAL GROUPS AND ITS IMPORTANCE AS IT RELATES TO CASE WORK TREATMENT

A Thesis

Submitted by

Lilian Bye

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

As a first step in the study of the mother's status in different cultural groups and its importance as it relates to case work treatment, it will be necessary to examine the findings of psychiatry as related to the importance of the personality of the mother and its influence upon the child.

After World War I, in 1918, Benjamin Kidd wrote in his book, "The Science of Power,"[1]: "It is not in the fighting male of the race; it is in the Woman that we have the future center of Power in civilization." He was at that time a prophet crying in the wilderness.

Today, however, psychiatry points with increasingly greater emphasis to the dynamic importance of the mother-child relationship and its influence upon the family structure and thereby upon the wider social organization.

Dr. Helene Deutsch[2] expresses it to this effect: "Whenever a strong man faces danger of death on this or any other continent, he calls for his mother, no matter under what cultural and social conditions his deep, powerful mother tie was formed."

Dr. Florence Clothier in a paper at the Massachusetts Regional Conference of Social Work, March, 1947, expressed her findings based on fifteen years of experience in a study home (New England Home for Little Wanderers)

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[1] Benjamin Kidd, Science of Power, p. 203.

[2] Helene Deutsch, Motherhood - Psychology of Women, p. 6.

that unless the mother-child relationship is sound and positive, the total personality development of that child will be built on a "shaky foundation". On the pattern of this first relationship, the personality will build all later relationships, constructively or destructively, depending upon his gratifications or frustrations in this first person to person relationship with a mother figure.

Dr. Marian C. Putnam, also against a background of many years of research and practice, expressed her findings at the same conference mentioned above to the effect that Child Psychology as a science is gaining an increasing insight into the "devastating importance of the mother's personality in relation to the young child."

Dr. Margaret A. Ribble, in her book, "The Rights of Infants,"[3] states that,

> The purpose of this book is to take up a vital aspect of infant care which is not covered in manuals dealing with food and general hygiene - the feeling life of the baby, the human impulses which get their initial momentum in the primary relationship between the child and the mother.

The author continues:

> The infant who is treated impersonally, however well nourished and clean he may be, is actually thwarted in his mental development and may suffer more cruelly than an adult locked up in solitary confinement.

This is a point to bear in mind. It represents the crossroads between the present and the future conception of child care. It points the way for future policies and case work practices in social agencies, and through its research material it points beyond doubt to the imperative importance of the emotional forces playing upon the sensitive and responsive feeling mechanism of even the youngest infant.

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[3] Margaret A. Ribble, The Rights of Infants, p. 3.

Science has come to this conclusion through practical and clinical experience. The various child guidance clinics have revealed what seems to be an indisputable fact, namely, that there is an existing relationship between the personality and attitudes of mothers and the problems of their children as they are encountered in the clinics. Gloria Heitman finds in her thesis[4] related to this subject that the degree to which treatment of the child is successful is dependent upon the degree of workability with the mother, or, in other words, upon the degree to which a mother is willing to change her pattern as she gains insight into the process of dynamic interrelationship between herself and her child.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go deeper into the psychiatric mechanisms at work here. That has been covered by experts in the respective field.

It seemed necessary, however, to establish the deep importance of the mother-child relationship in any culture or on any continent before going into the specific material to be covered in this paper, namely, the problems resulting from different cultural patterns as reflected through the mother in case work practice. From the various authorities quoted above, it should be possible to make the inference that to the degree the mother is a secure, well adjusted, loving and outgoing personality the child is a well balanced and established individual.

In this relation Dr. Abram Kardiner[5] states:

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[4] Gloria Heitman, "A Study of the Relationships Between Maternal Attitudes and Treatment Results Among a Group of Average Children Who Have Received Psychiatric Treatment for Behavior Problems in Child Guidance Clinics." Boston University, 1946.

[5] Abram Kardiner, "Security, Cultural Restraints, Intrasocial Dependencies and Hostilities," The Family, Oct., 1937, p. 184.

> As you all probably know, each individual has his own security system made up of attitudes, methods of perception, ideas, emotions and activities, all of which have as their objective the defense of the individual against external dangers. This individual security system is, however, not wholly an invention of the individual: it has a social or cultural background.

What we as social workers have to deal with in a great majority of clients are, consequently, not just "mothers", but mothers molded in and expressing definite cultural patterns which they more or less knowingly impose upon their children who, in turn, accept or rebel.

Helene Deutsch, in her intensive study of motherhood, says that "the natural and primitive phenomenon of motherhood conceals a world of events within itself," all of which "combines into a great, complex whole in which there is much still to be explained. But a good deal of it can be clarified by means of psychoanalysis."[6]

The writer differs from this author's point of view, inasmuch as she does not believe that it is enough to consider the mother-child relationship from a psychiatric point of view without taking into consideration the cultural elements which may be involved on a practical environmental level. In a child guidance setting, the mothers are often classified as "rejecting" mothers, "accepting" mothers, "over-protective" mothers, or "indifferent" mothers, and treatment is tried according to this diagnosis. It seems to the writer that in the psychiatric setting not enough attention has been paid to the causative factors related to cultural influences. Why is an Italian mother "over-protective" or "temperamental" or "over-indulgent"? Is it because of her individual psychic structure, or because of her Italian cultural heritage operating on a realistic environmental basis?

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[6] Helene Deutsch, op.cit., p. 16.

As Karen Horney says,[7] "Freud's disregard of cultural factors not only leads to false generalizations but to a large extent lacks an understanding of the real forces which motivate our attitudes and actions." The same author goes on to say that, "The term neurotic, while originally medical, cannot be used, now, without its cultural implications."

The anthropologist, Ruth Benedict, is also contributing to this point of view:[8]

> Western civilization has spread itself more widely than any other local group of people that has so far been known. It has standardized itself over most of the globe and we have been led, therefore, to accept a belief in the uniformity of human behavior that under other circumstances would not have arisen. . . . The psychological consequences of this spread of white culture have been out of all proportion to the materialistic. The world wide cultural diffusion has protected us as man has never been protected before from having to take seriously the civilizations of other peoples.

The author continues to say:

> We read off the behavior of small children as it is molded in our civilization and recorded in child clinics as Child Psychology, or, the way in which the young human animal is bound to behave, attempting always to identify our own local ways of behaving with Behavior or our own socialized habits with Human Nature.

Dr. Marian Putnam, in an address to the New England Regional Conference of Social Work in March, 1947, expressed her point of view clearly based on her experiences as Co-Director of James Jackson Putnam Children's Center, Roxbury, Massachusetts. She said:

> We have learned how inadequate the social histories are. We have slowly, over periods of years, learned what goes into the creating of so disturbed a picture as the mother-

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[7] Karen Horney, The Cultural Personality of Our Time, pp. 13 and 291.

[8] Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 5-6.

> child relationships seem at the Center/. Environment has played a tremendously important role.

Dr. Kardiner[9] forcefully takes his stand when he writes:

> It is not enough to study the "unconscious" constellations /Oedipus Complex/ in society, though these have in themselves a high diagnostic value. It is our business to study the relation between these unconscious constellations and the external social and environmental set up.

The writer has, over a period of twenty years, had the privilege of living and working, travelling and studying in thirteen different countries expressing contrasting cultures and different developmental levels. These countries are: Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Germany, France, England and America, where the writer has spent considerable periods of time studying or working, besides having visited Malta, Greece, Turkey, Roumania, and Hungary. The writer was also given an opportunity to work with the nomadic, matriarchal Lappish minority group living in northern Scandinavia over a period of four years, during which time she was able to collect enough data to contribute, in a modest way, to a changed attitude on the part of the Norwegian government towards the Norwegian Lapps and which resulted in a change of textbook material for the first readers to be used in the public schools attended by Lapps.

During these twenty years of work and study among markedly different cultural groups, the writer came to experience the acute significance of the cultural pattern of any given group and to understand that from the same body of facts any number of interpretations are possible, all according to the subjective experiences shaped and patterned upon the interpreter's particular culture structure. The writer feels strongly that many of Freud's

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[9] Kardiner, op.cit., p. 184.

interpretations of the human psyche are colored by a patriarchal outlook on life, as well as his particular nationality pattern; in fact, that some of his most basic conceptions about the "human psyche" and the various complexes and conflicts arising from the individual's sex pattern, particularly the feminine, would show conspicuous errors if applied to a fundamentally different type of culture like that of the matriarchal Lapps.

To this statement one could argue that, after all, the American pattern of life falls into the general patriarchal pattern of Western Civilization where Freud's interpretation for the most part holds good. Even Ruth Benedict exclaims:[10] "Perhaps it is all right not to know too much about other cultures. We have, after all, to deal with our own." But then she continues: "But we forget that we cannot escape the various cultures as succession of cultures in time, each having contributed something to this culture through revision."

In other words, what constitutes the "unconscious" irrational material of each individual psyche is not only the subjective personal experiences, however "forgotten", of each individual, but also the cultural inheritance of his mother, his nation or race, stretching deep into the forgotten ages but covered thick with rationalizations. It is a noteworthy fact that one of the reasons why it has taken so long a time to discover the dynamic value of culture is that we have taken for granted that our particular pattern is the "good" and "right" pattern, whereas we have not taken seriously any deviation from this pattern, or we have disposed of it as "abnormal", "pathological", etc. Through comparative anthropology we have become a little more aware of the values of other cultures, but for the most part on a very

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[10] Benedict, op.cit., p. 16.

shallow basis. We are each one of us actually unable to discern fully our own cultural pattern because it so largely functions on the irrational level. We do know that, however trained the psychiatrist, he must have the help of another psychiatrist to guide his steps through the irrational pathways of his resisting psyche, and so with our cultural pattern. It is the writer's supposition that we need expert help from without before we can become acquainted with the intrinsic emotional attitudes based on our cultural heritage.

It was undoubtedly on this supposition that the eminent Swedish social scientist, Gunnar Myrdal, and his wife, Alva Myrdal, the foremost social worker of Sweden, were called to the U.S.A. in order to unravel some of the social conflicts between whites and negroes of this country. It was undoubtedly understood that both parties concerned harbored so many irrational prejudices, one against the other, that an outside agent was needed to give a neutral diagnosis and recommendation.

It is the writer's hypothesis that we, as case workers, need to become fully and consciously aware of our own cultural background in a different way from the insight we gain into our motivations through psychoanalysis. We are as blind to the meaning of our environmental cultural pattern as we are to our inner instincts and drives, and not until we have gained such insight, both regarding our own culture and that of our clients, are we equipped to deal with case work treatment centered around cultural conflicts.

It will be the purpose of this paper to evaluate this statement through the presentation and analysis of case work material from the writer's own experience over a period of eighteen months of field work placement, first in the Children's Hospital (neurological division) and later at New England

Home for Little Wanderers, both Boston institutions.

When speaking of cultural patterns, the writer is fully aware of the fact that this term might also cover the stratified classifications of people on various economic and educational levels within the same national framework. This narrower sociological conception of culture is not what the writer will deal with in this study, but rather with culture in the inter-racial and international conception.

However, before going into the case material and its evaluation, it will be necessary to define the terminology -- matriarchal, patriarchal and individualistic -- on a broad basis so that we stand on common ground, as it were, in our evaluation of the later material.

The next Chapter will try to clarify these points. The following Chapter will deal with fifteen different cultural groups encountered by the writer as a case worker in social agencies in New England and New York. Chapter IV will present actual case material and attempt an evaluation of the cultural content involved, as well as the extent to which the writer's awareness of the cultural pattern helped or did not help. The last Chapter will try, on the evidence gained from the study, to determine whether knowledge of the cultural background of the mothers encountered in case work practice is of positive value to professional case workers in the American setting.

CHAPTER II

DEFINITIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

There is at present a substantial bulk of material available in the field of comparative anthropology, and as we study some of the living cultures today in their contrasting expressions we become aware of the imperative importance of Ruth Benedict's supposition that, "It is in cultural life as it is in speech - selection is the prime necessity."[1] In one culture we see this selective principle at work focused around the key-word, "matriarchy"; in others again around the conception of "patriarchy", and in still others around the ideal of "individualism".

Formerly we tended to think of geographical and climatic conditions as the chief operators toward the modelling of the various cultures. Today we see that climate and geography play a decidedly secondary role in the formation of a culture, as compared to the selective principle dependent upon the social inheritance of any given group of people. Dr. Abram Kardiner[2], for instance, mentions the Chuckchee group living in Siberia and dependent upon the reindeer economy. He describes them as unhospitable, selfish, stingy and aggressive, and he goes on to say that we would be inclined to believe that these character traits "are purely derivatives of the characteristics so necessary for them to survive." However, he continues: "This conclusion

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[1] Benedict, op.cit., p. 23.

[2] Kardiner, op.cit., p. 195.

does not stand up when we examine the Eskimo, who lives under similar conditions." This statement would have been even more true if the comparison had been made between Chuckchee and Lapps. The Lapps live in the same region and are also dependent on the reindeer economy.[3] Yet, they represent a totally different cultural setting. We see the same thing in America. The Zuni Indians represent a very contrasting picture as compared to all the surrounding tribes of Indians in the same locality. The writer will not go into this in any detail, since the material is well covered in textbooks on anthropology.

However, as we go into the study of comparative cultures we become aware of the fact that the main focus around which the selective principle operates is the most conspicuous natural contrast in the human family, the sex contrast. In both matriarchal and patriarchal groups it is not the sexual act as such, resting primarily upon the pleasure principle, which receives emphasis. It is rather the functional nature of sex, resulting in the child, around which laws and regulations, folkways and social institutions are built. Both in matriarchal and in patriarchal forms of culture, the child represents the cornerstone of the social structure and not, as is often indicated, the woman or man, respectively. They gained their importance only to the degree that their role in connection with the child made them important, as mothers, fathers, uncles, aunts or grandparents. In such social structures it was inevitable that sex and age came to play a dominant part.

The selective principle in culture has focused upon one more type of

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[3] Lilian Bye, Reindeer Economy of the Lapps, New York University, 1945.

ideology, namely the individualistic pattern. In this constellation the pleasure principle comes to the foreground in regard to sex contact. Men and women have importance in themselves and not only as the parents of children. In such a culture personal efficiency and excellence come to play a vital and determining role. Rivalry is fierce, group feeling weak, and social institutions few. Instead of the three-cornered relationship in the matriarchal and patriarchal groups consisting of mother-father-child, in this last group we are faced with a dual relationship only, namely masculinity and femininity. The children also fall into these respective classifications without forming a distinct child group.

In the American culture all these three trends, the matriarchal, the patriarchal, and the individualistic, are operating, but because of the complex total constellation in this culture it seems advisable at this point to go into what Ruth Benedict designates as "the laboratory of the anthropologist" and turn to some of the contemporary cultures in the primitive setting which yield a clear-cut and comprehensive illustration of the point in question.

We shall first turn to the Lappish nomad group living in Finnmark, Norway, as representative of a matriarchal social organization. Most people who have their cultural roots imbedded in the patriarchal Western Civilization have a vague and often very incorrect picture as to what "matriarchy" really means. This has become particularly evident in the way some modern feminist groups have used Robert Briffault's exposition[4] on the "Matriarchal Theory of Social Origins" on their campaign programs for women's rights.

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[4] Briffault, The Mothers.

Robert Briffault thought it timely to set the feminists right by telling them that matriarchy had nothing to do with modern feminist conceptions of equality of the sexes or domination by women. In order to explain matriarchy we interpret the word against our patriarchal background and consequently we think of matriarchy as a society ruled by women, where the women hold the key positions, where they are the aggressive, domineering, forceful component in the social fabric, and where the men are molded on the pattern of "hen-pecked" husbands. This picture is far from true, because the woman in a matriarchy is not patterned on the type of the emancipated, self-asserting, masculine woman of Western Civilization. But what is a matriarchal woman, then?

When the writer first went to live with the nomadic, reindeer-herding mountain people, she was altogether unprepared for their difference in social structure. Very little was known about this group of people and what scanty information there was proved to be quite faulty in its interpretation of facts. It was not until after a long time that the writer was able to see how basically different all the fundamental interpretations of the common facts of life were as understood from the Lappish point of view. The first thing to be noticed was a conspicuous lack of courtesy and helpfulness on the part of the male population toward the women. Not even on the long and very strenuous seasonal migrations Spring and Fall through desolate mountain territory did the men ease the burden of the women. The woman was forever working, forever busy; there was not a thing the woman did not have her hands in from pitching the tent, chopping the wood, tending the fire, cooking the meal, herding the deer, and sewing the clothes to suckling the young. The writer had many psychological shocks and jolts, before she

realized the full meaning of all this. The women were not protected; they were not courteously treated; their burdens were not eased, because they were the true masters and they extended these privileges to the men. The grandmother was the head of the household. When she spoke, she was obeyed. But she seldom spoke domineeringly. She spoke jokingly and coaxingly, as one does to children. She had a saying: "A good joke is better any time than a cross word." This was the backbone of their way of life. There was no quarreling, no bickering. The children were rarely punished. There was instead a constant joking and laughing as if life were an exceedingly happy affair. This quality has been noticed by all travellers in the district. It is also verifiable through historical data that as far back as we know their history (and that is as far back as the Norwegian history goes), they have never once taken to weapons to defend themselves against their aggressive and oppressive foreign rulers. The rulers have changed (Finns, Russians, Swedes, Norwegians), but the Lapps have remained the same, in each case adjusting themselves to the new rulers and their demands in an accepting sort of way. As a group they seem to possess a singular feeling of security, apparently a reflection of the secure position of the mother. As a girl she is thoroughly trained in all the tasks in which a boy is trained also. She becomes a good reindeer herder, she learns how to lassoo her deer, how to harness it and drive it. She learns to pick her own way alone through the mountains. In this connection it is interesting to note that when the Norwegian Crown Prince and Princess made it a point to travel through the section for the first time in 1935, they were given a woman oappus (guide) through the most desolate part of the mountain, a woman with a nine month old baby at the breast. This incident was thought of as an extreme curiosity

among the Norwegians. Among the Lapps it was the natural order of things. When the Lapp girl has attained all this education in the outside affairs of life, her finishing education is attended to. Now she learns all the many tasks related to the immediate housekeeping in the tent, and at last she is ready to marry. She does not marry very young -- at about sixteen or seventeen or later -- and she seldom rears more than four or five children. She stays on with her own family usually, whereas the bridegroom moves in with his in-laws. She never changes her name to his, and the children, according to old custom, take her name. The most prominent Lappish family names, even today, are the names of women. In their social structure, the family is the rock foundation in life. In regard to inheritance, the girls inherit more than the boys, because according to old Lappish mythology it was a woman who first tamed a deer, and therefore she is entitled to a larger share. The religious godhead is not a "father" but a "mother", Goddess Saraka.

Now, what is the result of this? The selective principle operating in this case has created a culture based on the personality of very motherly women; and what is a motherly woman? Helene Deutsch[5] describes a truly motherly woman in this way:

> When all the elementary emotions of jealousy, competition and desire for pleasure, in whatever form they may manifest themselves, are ready to yield in favor of another being, when even the instinct of self-preservation loses its predominance and the fears connected with it are overcome, we can speak of "pure motherliness".

And this is what the Lappish women seem to manifest. In this culture it is religion, the personal relationships, the emotional quality of life which

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[5] Deutsch, op.cit., p. 54.

has been cultivated in preference to everything else. They are thought of by the Norwegians as without ambition, child-like, but very cunning. This is true according to our criterion. These motherly women selected as husbands, from time unknown, amiable, docile, companionate men. They do not seem repressed, cowed, or hen-pecked, however, but, on the contrary, are extremely merry and gay and seem to give themselves to life with free abandon.

In summary, what are the main characteristics of individuals belonging to the Lappish nomad group of Finnmark? The expression of irresistible gaiety, resulting in much laughter, telling of jokes, and catering to the comical. They accept themselves as they are and others as they find them, without rigid expectations or ambitious standards for behavior.

The chief, outstanding characteristic is the fundamental, inner security each member of the group displays and his emotional independence of others. There is not much display of affection except toward the very young children, perhaps because the strong feeling of acceptance makes display of affection unnecessary.

As for their nationalistic manifestations, they are the only group of people in Europe which has never waged war against another, even in self-defence.

We should be able to conclude, therefore, that the Lappish matriarch, through fulfilling her task in life in keeping with her womanly emotions and motherly insight, has created for her children and thereby for her people a peacefulness of mind, a satisfaction of emotions and a friendliness of disposition remarkably free from the aggressions and ambitions of the anxiety-ridden European and American peoples. We have a mother figure who is not domineering, not relentless in her drive for power, not possessive

in her love relations, but who comes fairly close to Dr. Deutch's definition of "pure motherliness" with a limited number of expected deviants.

This clear-cut type of motherly woman is (and the writer would say, unfortunately) not often found among the peoples of Western Civilizations, fashioned as they are on the patriarchal pattern although in a more or less diluted form. When the writer, therefore, uses the term "matriarchal woman" in the later exposition of the paper, she will thereby indicate women with motherly dispositions, leaning toward the pattern of the Lappish matriarch.

We will now give our attention to the types of women resulting from patriarchal rule, that is, women under the rule of men. We are used to thinking of women in all countries of Western Civilizations as under patriarchal rule. This is true, but it is a complicated truth, because in some of the countries the patriarchal rule became superimposed upon an old foundation of matriarchy where we, in the ideology of the people, in their symbolism or mystical expressions, find matriarchal remnants and where, at least in the under layer of the people, the women have markedly matriarchal tendencies. Two such countries might be mentioned: Ireland and Norway. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the anthropologist asserts that, among all the people of Europe, the Celts of Ireland and the Lapps of Scandinavia show physical characteristics of resemblance unfamiliar to the other racial groups of Europe. We shall come back to this type of mother in the analysis of the case treatment in Chapter IV.

In order to get a better conception of women functioning under patriarchal rule, let us turn to some of the Semitic peoples, the Arabs and the Hebrews, for instance. It is well known from literature, as well as historical records, that women have an inferior position relative to men in these

cultures. Through Arab religion we are told that women have no souls, that is, they have no life apart from that of their men. They have no other rights or prestige except what their feminine allurement and personal sexual attraction will gain for them. They are void of economic independence, but are "owned" by their men and classified with other kinds of "property". As Dr. Robertson Smith says:

> At Medina, as we are told by the commentators on Sura i.v., woman could not inherit because she was herself -- qua wife -- part of her husband's estate, whose freedom and hand were at the disposal of the heir if he chose to claim them, while if he did not she was thrown back on her own people.[6]

The famous Aramean immigrant to Palestine, Abram of Ur, supposedly the founder of the Jewish patriarchate, is described by Cecil Roth as:[7]

> A sheik-like figure moving about Palestine from North to South with his wife, his concubines, his flocks, his herds and his tents.

The most important contribution of the Hebrews, from whom we have taken so dominant a part of our social inheritance and cultural ideology, was the conception of monotheism. All the other civilized and powerful peoples of that time worshipped a multiple God-head, both masculine and feminine manifestations of God. But here the Hebrews stepped in and proclaimed that God was One, and He was, according to Hebrew cultural concepts, God, The Father. In contrast to the Lappish god, Saraka, The Mother, who was the goddess of fertility and growth, of bearing of the young, of acceptance and protection, we find in the Hebrew God the lord, the ruler, the judge, the powerful exponent of vengeance and punishment, the omnipotent and unequaled, and around

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[6] W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.

[7] Cecil Roth, A Bird's Eye View of Jewish History, p. 4.

this ideology the selective principle of culture set to work. In recorded Hebrew history we read about prophets, monarchs, judges, kings, about jealousies and hatreds and continuous warfare.

Cecil Roth describes The Kingdome of David in the following words:

> The later years of the reign were troubled and disturbed. The royal household, which conformed both to Oriental tradition and to the King's deeply sensuous nature, bore its usual fruits of cruelty, jealousy and household dissension. David, worn out by a life of constant struggles and hardship became prematurely aged. His sons by various wives quarrelled fiercely amongst themselves so that the royal house itself was stained by bloodshed.[8]

Finally, we shall mention the true Patriarchs, the leaders of the Sanhedrin[9] from 170 - 217 C.E., who put such a powerful imprint upon the cultures in the Mediterranean Basin during their time.

If we turn to Hebrew mythology or to Biblical scriptures, we find the same picture verified from historical records. We find strong father figures, ruling, judging, wielding power even unto death and mother figures important only as child-bearing agents of sons and future fathers and rulers, or as pleasing sex-partners. We find two such womanly figures in Ruth and Esther in the Old Testament of the Bible.

Upon this evidence of patriarchal rule of the Semitic peoples of Arabia and Palestine, what inferences might be drawn regarding development of the character of the women? As already mentioned, the selective principle of culture has been busy at work, but whereas in the matriarchate of the Lapps it is the accepting, protecting, life-giving principle which became the focus of emphasis around which the social fabric was woven in the warp of

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[8] _Ibid._, p. 23.

[9] _Ibid._, p. 112.

the mother figure, among the Semitic peoples it became the ruling, judging, rejecting and preferential principle which became the acting agent in the formation of the social heritage based on the father figure. The women of this type of culture are fundamentally insecure. They fear and hate each other, and see in other girls or women rivals or potential enemies in their competition for the man and the prestige which follows his position. They become sensual in their appeal, calculating in their behavior, and possessive in their love relationships. Charm rather than service became a keynote to their personality. They developed into a mistress type of woman where the prominence of the relationship became more important than the individual to whom they had to relate.

In this forced striving for status, they became relentless in their ambitions and through their conditioning of their children they helped create civilizations full of bloodshed and wars and where the ruling concept figures prominently in the social conscience of the peoples.

From these two types of social organizations based on contrasting selective principles we must not draw the inference that where the women rule all is peace and harmony and where the men rule aggressions, cruelty and wars follow because women are predominantly docile or the men predominantly aggressive. Margaret Mead[10] has given full evidence for the fact that a culture might be based on unbelievably harsh, cruel and unmotherly women like the Mundugumer women of New Ghinea. It is as Elin Wagner says:[11]

> One ship sails East, another West
> On the self-same wind that blows.

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[10] Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament, p. 161.

[11] Elin Wagner, Wackarklockan, p. 7.

It's the set of the sails
Not the strength of the gales
That determine the way it goes.

In other words, both men and women have a large storage house for potential behavior. But it is the emphasis upon one way of behavior in preference to another based on the operating selective principle which decides what it is going to be. Who knows what prompted the first cuckoo-bird to lay its eggs in the nest of other birds, a precedent followed ever since? Was it a "psychological" or instinctual drive, or was it an environmental cause which became "instinctive" behavior in successive generations? We know from clinical experiments with animals that by changing their environment in regard to light or heat, for instance, it is possible to make birds lay eggs out of season, to have them undertake migratory flights at the wrong time of the year, even make a cat live peacefully with a mouse in the same cage. Not many years ago we thought of these various phenomena as instinctual phenomena and unalterable facts. Now we see that they can be altered through simple environmental manipulation.

The point to keep in mind is that the individuals in any given culture do not differ fundamentally in their psychological potentialities, but that environmental factors coupled with the reflex theory known from psychological experiments tend to set up an imitative and repetitive pattern which gives the various cultures their direction. In other words, if an Arabian girl should be transplanted to a Lappish society at a very early age, the norm would be that she would display the "matriarchal" tendencies of that culture or vice versa.

We have now examined the "matriarchal" type of women and the "patriarchal" type of women and the writer has tried to define the inferred mean-

ing of these expressions in order to establish an instrument of measure for later use. The cultures chosen for illustrative purposes have been selected because they seem to present clear-cut types of the women in question.

We will now turn to the third type, the "individualistic" type of woman, and the best illustration to the writer's knowledge of such a type is the Ammassalik Eskimo woman of East Greenland. This culture has been described by Jeannette Mirsky[12] who gives a comprehensible picture of the individualistic set up. The relationship between men and women is indicated through the following passage:[13] "Every man must have an economic partner." A man cannot function adequately without a woman partner; neither can the woman function without the man, inasmuch as the division of work is clearly marked between the sexes. It is for the man to produce the raw materials, whereas it is up to the woman to process and refine the raw products. However, the women are not dominated or ruled by the men. "All the tools used by women in their work are owned by them . . . possessing the necessary skill and owning her tools a woman is not only a capable draftsman but she is fully equipped and ready to set up 'shop' anywhere she pleases and to cooperate with any man." But neither does she dominate her man, however. He is just as self-assertive as she and sought for his individual skill and excellence as a hunter.

In this set-up sexual freedom reigns both before and after marriage. The marriage institution is weak; both men and women change partners frequently. The biological family "constitutes the only recognized bond" and

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[12] Margaret Mead, "Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive People," Library of Congress, 1937, p. 54.

[13] *Ibid*., p. 60.

even this is very weak and foster parents are very prevalent. The author goes on to say that "within this open field an individual is allowed a latitude few societies could tolerate." There exists no organized leadership, no social stratification. Each individual is conscious of his or her personal skill and a relationship is not important as a relationship in itself, but for the quality and contribution of the individual partner toward the person to whom he is related. In other words, in this culture the women are sought not for beauty or personal charm, not for their sex qualities, nor for their child-bearing function, but for their service and productive capacity in the common economy.

But how can a culture with seemingly so loose a social structure last for any length of time? In fact, it seems as if there is very little actual directive in this culture. Yet when we examine it more closely we find that it is built on a very strong foundation, namely, on economic interchange. Because of the division of labor between the sexes, one is as important as the other for the self-preservation of each.

Let us now examine what type of women result from this type of set up. We find a woman secure in her own skill and importance to the group as a going concern, a woman with opportunities for satisfactory emotional outlets without interference from set moral standards for behavior. Through her work she has opportunities for any original creative capacities she might possess. She is a free, easy-going woman without strong love affiliations either toward her husband or her children.

Because there is no set standard of behavior, there is no purpose for punishment and the children are allowed to grow up in any way they wish with a minimum of interference. Loyalties are not developed, nor reverence for

father or mother enforced.

This type of woman is different from both the "matriarchal" and the "patriarchal" types, inasmuch as the latter base their importance upon their biological functions as mothers or sex-partners, conditioned one or the other way. The Massalik woman, on the other hand, is not conditioned by her function as a woman in contrast to man, but on her function as an economic asset in coordination with that of the man. The emotional development is inferior to that of the technical development. The Eskimos show much greater skill and finesse in quality of work than the Lapps, for instance.

In the Massalik culture we find a woman who is much more aware of herself as an individual than as a mistress or mother. A mother may help her daughter find a husband, or she may compete with her for a male partner without having her society frown upon her. There is no preference of sex in children, who are warmly welcomed by both men and women as far as their emotional capacity goes. A strong egotistic emphasis is discernable as a cultural directive.

As indicated in Chapter I, the writer has tried to define the terminology "matriarchal", "patriarchal" and "individualistic", based chiefly upon anthropological research and historical evidence.

We are now in a position to turn to concrete case work material as encountered in an average social agency in New England or New York. The writer will discuss in the following Chapter the kind of nationalities and nature of case problems active in the treatment situation, showing in which way they fall under "matriarchal", "patriarchal" or "individualistic" cultural influences.

CHAPTER III

CASE WORK PROBLEMS WITH CULTURAL IMPLICATIONS ENCOUNTERED IN THE CASE WORK PROCESS

As case workers in social agencies, we may get along for considerable periods of time without being aware of cultural implications related to our clients. Then occurs the unusual situation where things do not come out according to plan or reason, and we have to cast about for new explanations. To quote from the memory of a case worker in a hospital setting: She remembered the case of a boy of Finnish parentage suffering from diabetes. The doctors put him on a strict diet, eliminating all sweets, but it did not work. The boy ate sweets time and again, and the doctors grew impatient because the parents did not cut out pastry from the family table in order not to tempt the boy. They considered the parents decidedly uncooperative until the case worker remembered the Finnish background. She knew enough about Finnish culture to realize that cake was not just sweets to them, but the Finnish way of life. In a Finnish household coffee and cake is served regardless of what time of day a visitor arrives. It is served morning, noon and night. To do away with the cake would have been to do away with Finland. When this was explained to the doctors, a more workable plan was carried out.

Or, there was the Jewish patient who was discharged to go home on a certain day. When the day came, she refused to leave. Finally it was explained that this day coincided with a Jewish holiday when the adherents to this faith were not allowed to travel between sunup and sundown.

Or, there was the Italian patient who had established a good connection with the case worker during his hospital confinement. After his return home it became necessary for case worker to contact him and she went to see him and his wife and children. She went, as a matter of fact, unescorted on this regular case work call. This worked very badly, however, with this particular client, whose Italian background was very strict in its disapproval of a single, unescorted woman calling at a man's house.

Every social worker's memory contains incidents of this sort, puzzling whenever we stumble upon them, but easily corrected once we find the clue to the cause of resistance.

TABLE I

MOTHERS WITH "MATRIARCHAL" CHARACTERISTICS
ENCOUNTERED BY WRITER THROUGH THE CASE WORK PROCESS

Nationalities	No.	Religion	Working	Types of Problems
Irish	2	R.C.	Yes	Prostitution, alcoholism, desertion
Swedish	4	Prot.	Yes	Prostitution, alcoholism, epilepsy
Danish	3	Prot.	Yes	Desertion, alcoholism
Finnish	1	Prot.	-	Diabetes
American Negro	3	Prot.	1 Yes 2 No	Unemployment, illegitimacy, venereal disease
Norwegian	1	Prot.	Yes	Prostitution, alcoholism, illegitimacy

TABLE II

MOTHERS OF "PATRIARCHAL" CHARACTERISTICS ENCOUNTERED BY WRITER THROUGH THE CASE WORK PROCESS

Nationalities	No.	Religion	Working	Types of Problems
Russian-American-Jewish	3	Jewish	No	Functional disorders in children; nutritional difficulties; speech difficulties
French	2	1 R.C. 1 Prot.	No	Behavior problem; disciplinary difficulties
German	1	Prot.	No	Behavior problem; mother psychotic personality
English	1	Episc.	No	Illegitimacy; behavior problem
Greek	1	Greek Orth.	Yes	Illegitimacy
Turkish	1	Prot.	No	Behavior problem; disobedience
Italian	2	R.C.	No	Behavior problems; relief; sickness
French-Canadian	1	R.C.	No	Behavior problem; mental deficiency
West Indian Negro	1	Prot.	Yes	Unemployment; truancy

However, there are other situations more involved, less obvious than these just quoted, where the cultural resistances are deeply buried, perhaps on the unconscious level, where a definite pattern of behavior has set up, affecting the whole personality.

We will consider twenty-seven such cases from the writer's experience

as they were referred to her case load during twenty-five months of case work in three different agencies. The cases have not been picked, but represent the cases with foreign background and cultural implications during that period of time.

We see from the two attached tables that the twenty-seven cases represent fifteen different cultural backgrounds which fall into two major groupings, six nationality groups under predominantly "matriarchal" characteristics and nine under predominantly "patriarchal" characteristics. According to the Table, it seems justifiable to divide them into these headings since all the cases of the "matriarchal" characteristics tend to form one pattern and those of "patriarchal" characteristics another. It is interesting to notice that the problems, the religious affiliations, and employment by mothers outside the home show marked similarities in both groups.

Of the fourteen cases in the "matriarchal" group, eleven mothers were working, twelve mothers were Protestant. In ten of the cases the problems centered around alcoholism. Other problems figuring heavily in this group were prostitution, illegitimacy, and desertion.

On Table II in the "patriarchal" group we have a very different picture. Of the thirteen mothers, only two had outside employment, whereas eleven did not work. Five of the mothers were Roman or Greek Catholic, one Episcopalian, three Jewish, and four Protestant. Eleven of the mothers sought help from a social agency on account of behavior problems among the children. These behavior problems were either a failure of disciplinary methods or they represented functional disorders like nutritional or digestive difficulties, speech difficulties, hyper-activity, or enuresis. Among this group there was not one recorded case of alcoholism or prostitution, and only one

case of desertion.

These findings seem to verify the findings of Gloria Heitman[1] that there is an existing relationship between the personality and attitudes of mothers and the problems of their children, and, further than that, the findings seem to point to a definite relationship between the cultural background of the mothers and the types of problems to be found among their children.

In other words, where the mother figure has been molded in the patriarchal pattern, be that German or Greek or Italian, the children are likely to show disturbances related to a pattern of anxiety neuroses and repressed, frustrated emotions. By way of illustration, we may mention one boy of twelve of Italian background who suffered from a speech difficulty. Every now and then his face would become flushed and he would apparently lose the power to speak. This happened both in school and at home. This difficulty was diagnosed by a psychiatrist to be on the functional level, caused by over-identification with a mother who could, only brokenly and with great difficulty, express herself in English. The boy's difficulty started at a time when he got a younger brother, who took all the mother's devotion and time.

In the "matriarchal" group the children showed a much lesser degree of disturbance. One girl suffered from epilepsy and one boy from diabetes, both ailments diagnosed to be on the organic level, but revealing a high emotional tone. Otherwise, we find uninhibited emotions revealing themselves through alcoholism or prostitution, which, however, had a much less devastating effect on the personality development of the child.

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[1] Heitman, op.cit.

Among the four Swedish cases recorded, three of them gave a history of alcoholism among the fathers. In one case the mother had separated from the father and was known to take in Norwegian sailor boys during the war, who were very "nice" to the children. In all four cases, the children were very well kept. All four mothers were working, two of them exclusively supporting themselves and the children, whereas the other two subsidized the family income. The mothers were excellent housekeepers and the children, particularly the girls, had to take responsibilities very young. In spite of the meager incomes, the girls took music lessons and dancing lessons, all children attended Sunday School in the Scandinavian center of the Salvation Army, and they were given frequent opportunities to perform on some program or other.

TABLE III

NUMBER OF CASES NEEDING PSYCHIATRIC OR INTENSIVE CASE WORK TREATMENT IN THE "MATRIARCHAL" GROUP

Nationality	No.of Cases	Intensive Case Work	Psychiatric Treatment
Irish	2	1	2
Swedish	4	3	1
Danish	3	2	0
Finnish	1	0	0
American Negro	3	0	0
Norwegian	1	1	1
6	14	7	4

TABLE IV

NUMBER OF CASES NEEDING PSYCHIATRIC OR INTENSIVE CASE WORK TREATMENT IN THE "PATRIARCHAL" GROUP

Nationality	No.of Cases	Intensive Case Work	Psychiatric Treatment
Russian-Jewish	3	2	3
French	2	1	0
German	1	1	1
English	1	0	1
Greek	1	0	0
Turkish	1	1	1
Italian	2	2	1
West Indian Negro	1	0	0
French Canadian	1	0	1
9	13	7	8

In these families the emotional side of life was highly catered to (music, dancing, sewing, handicraft, baking) and a noticeable amount of festivity and gaiety and sociability was forever going on, counteracting the unpleasantness and disturbing effects of a hard-drinking father. All the men were violent and brutal when under the influence of liquor; they would beat and mistreat their wives physically and chase the children out in the street. But when one of the mothers, who was the real breadwinner of the family, was asked if she did not want a divorce, she answered, no, that her husband was "awfully nice" when he was not drunk and that, "the children needed their

father and they were fond of him." Through this acceptance of the situation and the fact that in their experience "men aren't better", they all seemed to function adequately through the warm, outgoing personalities of the mothers, forever ready to provide the little extra services, the little extra luxuries, whether they could afford it or not.

It is also worth mentioning that, as is shown in Tables III and IV, among the fourteen cases in the "matriarchal" group four were recommended for psychiatric treatment and seven for intensive case work treatment. Of the thirteen cases recorded in the "patriarchal" group, eight were recommended for psychiatric treatment or consultations and seven for intensive case work treatment on account of deep emotional disturbances between mother and child.

From this material it is indicated that the children are less damaged even where a broken home exists if the mother is a warm, responsive, uninhibited and emotionally rich personality as compared to children from physically and "morally" (moral according to American standards) better homes where the mother is an insecure, repressed or hostile individual.

If we examine the nationalities in the first group more closely in their natural setting, we find that, although they all function under a patriarchal superstructure, although their various social institutions reveal a patriarchal pattern, in the folkways, through the folklore and religious and mystical expressions of these people we meet a beloved, idealized mother figure. In Norway the people speak about their country as the "mother-country" as in contrast to the Vaterland. In Swedish terminology we find that the gender for a "human being" is thought of as "she" in contrast to the otherwise general conception of "he". In Denmark we have recently,

through news articles, become acquainted with the prominent Copenhagen school principal who decided to have a child outside marriage, who had her child, and kept her position also. In the social legislation of all three Scandinavian countries, women have been very active, and the much discussed illegitimacy law of Norway, the Castberg Child Law, which puts the illegal child on full legal terms with the legitimate, would hardly have become law if the women had not backed it.

We must now ask, "But why is it that Norway, for instance, has stayed 'matriarchal' when her social institutions are patriarchal, when she gives homage to a king and to a Protestant state church?" The fact is that both the kingdom and the Protestant church rested on very feeble foundations before the war. The king foresaw that his son, Crown Prince Olav, would not become a king, and he was for that reason given a business education. In regard to the church, it was a notorious fact that the churches were found empty Sunday after Sunday. The women, who represent so large a part of a church congregation, did not go to church. Consequently, even the few men who might otherwise have followed their wives did not go either. The churches of the capitol of Norway grew disconsolate, and they decided that if the people would not come to church, the church had to come to them. Where, then, were the people to be found? In the hills and the mountains, in nature, there the women had found the emotional satisfaction, the mystical conception of the rhythm of life through birth, growth, decay and new birth, of changing seasons and unified profundity, and here the church had to find them. A chapel was built in Nordmarka, outside Oslo, the most sought spot for Sunday excursions, and it became the duty of the Oslo clergy to take turns about going to this chapel to preach on successive Sundays.

As for the people as a whole, there is good reason why the mother figure remained so prominently in the foreground among the fishing population, the peasantry, and the large part of the population depending upon the merchant marine for a living. In all these three occupations, the three main sources of livelihood in Norway, it meant that the men were withdrawn from the family circle for long periods of time -- if sailors and seamen, for a couple of years at a time, even. The mother naturally became the active head of the family. She was the economic manager; she was the controlling agent; she was the always present one to whom everyone turned in sorrow and happiness. If the fishermen and the sailors did not come back (and very often they did not), she was still there, the bulwark of life. In a peasant economy the woman is an important asset to the general economy. As feminine head of a household, she is not called "house-frau" or "housewife" but house-mother.

Although we hear about the forceful Vikings, the fact is that the Norwegian men are not strong, self-assertive, competitive males. They are more often than not soft-spoken, shy, emotionally high toned, often sentimental men with a leaning toward alcoholism, who choose creative work, imaginative work, whether it be as fishermen or explorers or scientists, authors or painters, but who make a poor showing in business, industry, or the exploitive occupations. In the middle class and upper class, the patriarchal pattern is more strongly enforced because here a large percent of the members have German origin. But it is from the great mass of the people, from songs and stories, from festivals and rituals that the actual emotional component is discerned. It is from the little evidences as the following that we take our clue. In Norway, one of the most endearing pet names for little girls

is "little mother". Under this pet name many girls have grown to womanhood. In the hearts of the people, there is no doubt but that the emotional component is developed around the strong, accepting, welcoming, nourishing mother figure.

This picture is also true in the other Scandinavian countries with some reservations. In Sweden and Denmark the upper classes are much stronger; aristocracy is still prevalent, in contrast to Norway, and industry and labor are on the march in. In these areas the mother figure is losing hold and there is a leaning, not to the "patriarchal" pattern, but rather toward the "individualistic". However, there is still enough of a peasant class in Denmark, Sweden and Finland for the mother image to remain an important emotional component because she still figures prominently in the economic structure.

The feminine beauty ideal of these countries is the "stately" woman in Sweden, the "mature" woman in Norway, in great contrast to the "girlish" woman in America. The Norwegian woman would marry the "good" man, meaning a domestic, family man, whereas the American woman would marry the "successful" man, or the man of affairs.

Also worth mentioning in this connection is another example of comparative values as expressed in the every-day language of the common people. In both Norway and America girls and women will refer to their menstrual period in very characteristic ways. In Norway they say, "I am being visited." At times they will elaborate it further in the Oslo region of the country and refer to it as "being visited by Auntie from Drammen." The American girls and women, on the other hand, say, "I have the curse." The psychological implication in these two characteristic expressions seems very interesting

indeed. The symbolical meaning of the word, "being visited," is connected with something blessed in the mystical conception of the people, with a good spirit, a special honor. Being a good hostess where no sacrifice is too great for the guest is one of the age-old and highest functions of womanhood in the Scandinavian countries. Where the idea is carried even further -- visited by Auntie -- the identification with mother is very strong; the person becomes almost mother.

If we now turn to the American women and their expression, we find it a remnant from the old Biblical language where, according to Elizabeth Cady Stanten[2]: "The Old Testament makes woman a mere afterthought in creation, the author of evil, cursed in her maternity, a subject in marriage." In this sense of the word, the American expression regarding menstruation becomes exceedingly meaningful; it becomes "the curse", the punishment, and it is a well known factor among physicians who know both Norwegian and American women that the first mentioned has, comparatively, a much easier time, both with menstruation and with childbirth and lactation, than the American women.

Through these concepts alone we see how different the selection would be in the various countries according to the selective principle.

The writer is less familiar with the Irish picture, but judging from literature, folksongs and mythology the emotional tie to the mother ideal is vitally present on a vibrant emotional level. The problems of this group seem also to indicate the pattern of the "matriarchal" disposition.

In regard to the American negroes, they offer a strange and confused

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[2] Elizabeth Cady Stanten, The Woman's Bible, Book II, p. 8.

picture. They would fall into the "matriarchal", "patriarchal", or "individualistic" classifications according to the locality in which they are settled. Among the Negro peasantry of the South, we find a strongly "matriarchal" mother type, with grandmother as a prominent figure. The mothers own the farms, run the farms, rear the children, whereas the men come and go. The percentage of illegitimacy in this group is very high. The negro matriarchate, however, is local and it is not resting upon the hundreds of generations of the Lappish matriarch. Although some of the slaves were actually captured from African matriarchal tribes, like the Wagogo of East Africa,[3] the American negro matriarchy was based on the structure of slavery. As houseslaves and wet nurses for the whites, they gained status above the field-hands. When they later were freed, it became much easier for the women to obtain work as housemaids and nurses than for the men and they became actually the breadwinners of the family and therefore its head.

But, as we move further north, the picture changes. As the negro men drift into factories and industry they tend to take over the responsibility of supporting the family and the group leans heavily toward the "individualistic" pattern. This whole process is vividly described by Dr. E. Franklin Frazier[4] in his chapter on "Outlawed Motherhood". He has described the transitory stages from matriarchy to patriarchy in a certain family, and he goes on to say:

> In this family, as in other families in which we have been able to trace the process by which the negro man acquired a permanent interest in his family and assumed a position of authority, it appears that the subordination of the woman in the economic organization of the family has played an important part.

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[3] Briffault, The Mothers, p. 45.

[4] Frazier, The Negro Family in the U.S.A., p. 164.

According to the writer's point of view, the negro matriarch of the South does not become a woman earmarked by patriarchal rule in the northern states. True, the men find employment in the big industrial centers of the North, but so do the women, and they seem to occupy a fairly independent position in the family set-up.

However, there is a true "patriarchal" type of woman to be found among the negroes of West Indian origin. About this group Dr. Frazier says: "Even today it appears that the African pattern of family life is perpetuated in the patriarchal family organization of the West Indian negroes."

The writer had opportunity to experience contact with both groups, the American negro and the West Indian negro, through case work contact. She was at the time completely unaware of the meaning of this differentiation. The West Indian negro mother informed the writer in the first interview about the fact that she was "from West India". The writer did not pick up the clue. Proper contact was not established, and the case was lost. This negro mother suffered from persecution ideas, and her problem with a grandson, stealing, truancy, general disciplinary failure, coincided markedly with the problems of mothers in the "patriarchal" classification.

As we now turn to the nationalities of the "patriarchal" classification, there is one main fact which strikes us immediately. In all these nations the Catholic Church or deviations of it exercise a marked control emotionally and institutionally. Of all these nationalities, only one caters to the Protestant State Church, namely, Germany, and even here Catholicism is very strong as we saw during the recent war. The client recorded under this nationality in Table II was affiliated with the Catholic Church in Germany. There were several priests in the family. When this mother came to

the U.S.A. she changed to the religion of her husband and became Protestant, but this change took on a traumatic meaning to her and she was, at the time she was seen by the writer, suffering from persecution hallucinations.

In the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and Episcopalian churches, as well as in Judaism, the father concept is unusually strong and, in contrast to the Protestant Church, these churches have kept their power over the feeling life of the peoples adhering to their creeds. The reason for this is undoubtedly that the church kept a high emotional component in all its activities. They did not abandon the mother concept of God-head altogether. After all, we have evidence today for the fact that powerful civilizations existed, based on the matriarchal concept of life in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin before patriarchal rule was superimposed upon them.[5] A compromise was undoubtedly necessary and the mother figure was retained in the church as Mary, the God mother, the "Mother" of the "Son", a very different psychological concept from the goddess Saraka of the Lapps or the Divine Mother Durga of the Hindus. However, it gave to the women an emotional satisfaction and it appealed to one of the most, if not the most powerful instincts in a woman, the maternal instinct. This was in great contrast to the Protestant Church, which abandoned the mother concept altogether and based its creed on the "Father", the "Son" and the "Holy Ghost", with the result that the women, finding themselves emotionally starved and without a woman image upon which to model their lives, have been on a steady march out ever since. The church paled into an anemic factor in the feeling tone of the people, and lost in Northern Scandinavia all controlling power.

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[5] Wagner, op.cit., Chapter II.

To come back to our classification, we see that in all these cultures the emphasis is upon the father. The mother is important only for her service to him, particularly in her capacity of bearing him sons. We see that, psychologically and emotionally speaking, a woman under patriarchal rule is in a markedly different position from a mother under matriarchal rule. The first type of mother is under obligation not only to be fertile, but to be fertile in a certain way. Hers is the anxiety of producing the "wrongly" sexed child. Whereas the second type of mother is free to give herself to the creative process in good confidence, being able to welcome and accept boy or girl alike. The first type of mother, functioning under the preferential principle, has to worry her way through nine months of anxious waiting, not only to see whether the child is healthy and strong, but to see if it belongs to the preferred sex, on which her own status is dependent. It is possible for a woman to contribute through her own care of herself toward a sound child, but what can she do about the sex of a child? Here she is indeed at God's mercy. He is the only one who can help her fulfil to satisfaction this heavy expectation upon her, which leaves her exposed to constant judgment, and the irrational forces are given full play, resulting often in frustrating emotional dependencies for the women.

In our previous examination of a "patriarchal" mother, we found her to be emotionally insecure and anxious, depending, so to speak, on an act of God and the grace of man for her acceptance or rejection in her social group. We found her to develop trends toward competitiveness, jealousy, possessiveness and striving for effects. If she is frustrated in the achievement of her goals, fear, hatred, and antagonisms set in, and if such feelings are repressed we know from psychiatry that an anxiety neurosis is

apt to develop. If we now look back on Table IV, we find that a considerably higher number of cases under the "patriarchal" grouping were referred for psychiatric treatment as compared to the cases under the "matriarchal" heading. We also established the fact that the problems of all these clients fell into a definite pattern of deep emotional disturbances, which in the majority of cases manifested itself either as functional disorders or disciplinary revolts.

Because of these facts, namely, striking similarities of dominant cultural factors as well as similarities in type of problems, it seemed justifiable to treat the cases under these respective headings.

It is now time to ask why the mothers react in such different but characteristic ways when transplanted from their respective countries to American soil. They all have to go through a transition period and adjust to a new way of life. Why should one group show greater emotional disturbances than the other?

As the writer sees it, there may be two reasons. First, when there already is a latent anxiety present in a person's unconsciousness it is enough, often, to confront such a person with a new situation in order to activate the unconscious anxiety and set it into function because the irrational anxiety joins forces with the realistic anxiety of facing something new and unknown and consequently what might without this latent anxiety have been a normal anxiety reaction becomes in the anxiety oriented person an over-reaction.

Second, there is a subtler reason. We say in psychiatry that a person gets "to love his neurosis". He cannot do without it. That is why in psychoanalysis it is so necessary to prepare for the anxiety coming to the sur-

face when the neurosis is threatened. It is as if a patient arbitrarily is fighting with all his means to keep the psychiatrist from removing the cause of what makes him so miserable.

From the writer's point of view, this is what happens also on cultural grounds. When a mother, whose personality has been molded according to the patriarchal pattern, finds herself in America, she is like a person who has repressed childhood memories but who, through a traumatic experience on a mature level, finds that her childhood aggressions and hostilities are becoming reactivated through the present experience until they threaten to break through on the conscious level and thereby cause "symptoms" or neurotic behavior. The patriarchal pattern of her culture caused her to feel hostile or rebellious but the culture also had created devices to control the hostility or give it expression through some accepted channel. By coming to America this cultural control is eliminated. She finds herself in a milieu which accepts her irrational desire to be free of bonds which put her to such disadvantage as a functional human being, but instead of freeing her this frightens her. Instead of taking advantage of this new opportunity, she regresses into more dependency on her old ways. Added to the hostility toward her old culture, she now experiences a feeling of guilt toward the new which offers her the opportunity of breaking away but gives her no bridge upon which to cross over.

It is common knowledge to every case worker who has come in contact with foreign cultural groups that the women speak English, either not at all, or remarkably poorly in contrast to their men, who on this score seem to make much more rapid headway. We usually give as the reason that the men are more directly dependent upon the American speaking society in their effort to

support their families. It is the writer's supposition that this is only partially true, that the most potent factor is to be found in a greater emotional resistance or blocking on the part of the women. It has been the writer's experience that the more "patriarchally" oriented the women, like the Greek women, the Armenian women, the Italian women, the greater their difficulty and the slower their progress in regard to the English language. It is noticeable that women from the "matriarchally" classified group learn English much quicker. It does not seem reasonable that the cause is a higher innate intelligence, but rather that they have less emotional blocking.

And with this dilemma the women have had to toy without help of the expert psychiatrist who, for the individual neurosis, knows exactly how much reassurance to give to keep the aroused anxiety at bay. On cultural grounds these mothers have been left with their anxieties which, in turn, have overflowed to their children, causing "symptoms" of psychiatric behavior disorder and making treatment necessary from hospitals, clinics and social agencies.

But why should not the"matriarchally" oriented mothers feel a similar degree of disturbance? The American way of life is different from their old ways also.

The answer, as the writer sees it, is that such a mother is basically a more secure person to begin with. She is more used to freedom and it is not the lack of strong controls or preferential values which is disturbing to her. It is rather that the freedom of the American woman is based on a different system of values. What to the "matriarchal" woman would be the natural norm of behavior, self-sacrifice, willingness to serve others first and herself last, in other words what constitutes Dr. Helene Deutch's conception of "pure motherliness" would, according to the American system of values,

seem foolish, ridiculous, or masochistic pathology, according to the degree to which these characteristics would be manifested. The Norwegian mother finds that when she marries her "good" man, who is sure not to be the head of his football team or the key man of his firm, she has called society's pity upon herself. She has such an insignificant husband. But, if she, on the other hand, marries the "successful" man, the prominent man of affairs, she has the approval of society but she also has a husband with whom she as a "matriarchally" oriented woman cannot function. His strength is in her way, and her strength in his. She will more likely than not follow the example of her "patriarchally" dominated sister and cling to her old system of values and marry her "good" but, as compared to herself, "weak" man with the result that they both will call down upon their heads society's pity or ridicule, and they will, if the pressure is too noticeable, escape into alcoholism, which is a culturally acceptable device of a Norwegian man, prostitution, or desertion.

However, in this latter group it seems to be the fathers who are more emotionally hit than the mothers, with the result that the effect upon the children has been less devastating and it has facilitated the ease with which the Scandinavians have assimilated into the American culture.

The Irish group constitutes a deviation inasmuch as the Church has been a much more influential agent in their system of values than is true of the Northern European peoples.

Before we go over to the case material and evaluation of treatment, it will be necessary to say a few words about the American culture which is the cause of conflict to the other cultures. The American culture is still an evolving culture, brought into being by both the matriarchal and the patri-

archal ideology. However, as we know, when we add different components to a mixture, the new composition is not just an addition of the old components, but a dynamically different product, and so with the American culture. It is a new type of culture, where the point of emphasis is put on the individual himself, unrelated to his family, group or church. Already, as far back as in the 90's, Elizabeth Cady Stanten,[6] the "Grand Old Lady of America," had a name for this culture which she called the "amphiarcate". She predicted it to be "close at hand" and she described it as a social organization where women and men "both reign as equals". In this type of culture personal excellence and success measured in gain is stressed, resulting in a highly developed technocracy. A parallel to this system is found in the Massalik Eskimos as previously described. In the American culture, as in the Massalik, we find weak social institutions, reverence for none, loyalty to few, chaotic marriages, lenient upbringing of children, with few external controls, and technique of production valued higher than any excellence based on emotional richness and maturity. We find a "free for all" where competition is a more used tool than cooperation.

In the American system, stability is small, change rapid, forcing new adjustments upon its members constantly. The ideology is confusing inasmuch as it contains within itself conflicting values as a consequence of the rapid change. The American mother is not "matriarchal", neither is she "patriarchal". According to Dr. O. Hobart Mowrer[7], she is a "flapper" mother, and a very bewildered one, and her children likewise, which clinical evidences

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[6] Elizabeth Cady Stanten, The Woman's Bible, Book I, p. 25.

[7] O. Hobart Mowrer, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Education, Harvard University. Paper read at New England Conference of Social Work, 1947.

show. It also indicates that she is still in the process of growth.

In the next Chapter we will turn to the case material and try to evaluate to what extent the various systems of cultural values manifest themselves through the case process and to what extent they conflict.

CHAPTER IV

CASE PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

In the preceding Chapter we dealt with groupings and nationalities of cases. In this Chapter we will deal with individual case material of twelve cases. These were the bulk of cases with cultural implications appearing in the writer's case load during two periods of field placement of eight months each in The Children's Hospital (neurological division), Boston, and New England Home for Little Wanderers, also in Boston. The fifteen remaining cases were seen in a New York family service bureau over a period of nine months.

TABLE V

TYPES OF AGENCIES

Type of Agency	Matri- archal	Patri- archal	Months Covered
Hospital neurological	2	4	8
Study home	2	4	8
Family agency	10	5	9
Total	14	13	25

From Table V we see that, of the six cases under treatment in the

hospital setting, two fall in the "matriarchal" group and four in the "patriarchal". In the study home for psychiatric observation, six cases have been under treatment, two of which fall in the "matriarchal" classification and four in the "patriarchal". Of the fifteen cases under treatment in the family agency setting, ten belonged to the "matriarchal" group and five to the "patriarchal". In summary of the twelve cases seen in the psychiatric setting, four were "matriarchal" and eight "patriarchal", whereas in the family agency ten were "matriarchal" and five "patriarchal". It bears out the point made earlier that the children in the "patriarchal" setting were more deeply disturbed.

We shall now give our attention to the twelve cases seen in the psychiatric setting with writer as case worker.

Mrs. L.

> Mrs. L. is a Jewish-Russian immigrant. She is a trim, well dressed woman with a slim, girlish-looking figure and a face set in a hard, tense expression. She was heavily rouged. She came to this country when she was 14 years old, but she speaks English almost without accent. She is married to a druggist who is also a Russian-Jewish immigrant. Mother seemed very critical of him. She remarked that he thought her too "hard" on the children, but that she thought him too lenient and she was not going to "let him get away with it." She admitted, however, that Dina, for whom she sought help, was nicer with father than with her. Mother spoke of herself as a "club woman" who liked to entertain at home. She liked to read and educate herself.
>
> There were two children, Dina aged 4, and Gerry aged 2. Mother had sought the help of the hospital for Dina, who had severe digestive difficulties. She had been a feeding problem from the start and had refused to eat. Mother had had to force-feed her by pouring food down her throat when she opened her mouth to cry, and thereby mother said she had at least gotten some food inside her. This difficulty continued through infancy. At 2 years the child would take food in the mouth and swallow it after a long time without chewing it.

At about this time, Dina had started to complain of abdominal pains after eating. She would also have vomitting spells. Now, Dina was 4 years old and mother had such trouble with her that Dina was fed by herself to prevent her younger brother from seeing how Dina acted.

Dina had been given a series of tests at the hospital to find out "what was wrong" with her. The findings were negative and the doctor stated, "There has been difficulty centered around feeding and elimination since infancy. No organic reason can be found. An emotional basis is suspected."

In his talk with mother doctor had stated that he thought Dina had developed a "habit", whereupon the case was transferred to social service for further treatment.

Worker contacted mother by phone and an appointment was made for the first interview, which was kept. Mother waited until worker opened the conversation, then burst right out with her resentment toward the doctor for having diagnosed Dina's trouble as a "habit". She knew it could not be a habit because Dina had been this way from the start. There must be something wrong with her. She was a thumb-sucker, too, and difficult all around. A neighbor had taken care of Dina one day and she had said, "Never again."

Dina liked nursery school, however, and seemed to get along all right there. She was a "smart" child. She had been toilet-trained at the age of 8 months and had never used diapers or soiled her pants since. Her younger brother was not so "smart", but he was no trouble. He would eat between meals, even.

During the interview worker went into the doctor's expression about "habit" and what he had meant by it. Since mother had revealed that she was quite a reader, worker pointed out current articles on psychosomatic medicine to her, at the same time trying to explain in simple terms how Dina's reaction, now, was related to the early force-feeding.

Time for another appointment was set when it was decided that mother should bring Dina. She did not return, however.

Mrs. M.

Mrs. M. is another Jewish mother whose parents were born in Russia. She is a neat, well-groomed, bright looking woman, meticulously dressed. She is married to a Jewish tailor. The family lives with mother's parents who own a large house in a suburban district. Mother speaks English without accent,

> but mother's mother speaks with pronounced Russian accent. In fact, she had difficulty in expressing herself. There are two children, Marcia aged 7, and Robert aged 3.
>
> Mother has brought Marcia to the hospital on various occasions for physical check-ups. She was finally given a psychometric test. All findings were negative and no abnormality found on the organic level, whereupon the case was referred to social service.
>
> Mother was excited and flushed during the first interview, coming from her visit with the doctor. She was aggressive in her approach, still insisting that "something was wrong" with Marcia. She needed medicine to calm her down. She had periods of being "bad", would "holler and scream" until mother could not stand it. "I tell you, she is rotten," mother cried. "I hate to say this about my own child, but she is."
>
> Mother's complaints were that Marcia was hyper-active, could not concentrate, choked on her words when speaking until her speech became unintelligible, was aggressive and "bossy" with other children, and suffered from enuresis.
>
> There were no complaints about the brother. Mother felt that Marcia was fond of him and had welcomed his birth. Yet, she would not give any time to him, would not sit down to read to him like a "girl of her age" should. She would occasionally play rough-house with him.
>
> Marcia was a dark-complexioned, good-looking girl, but very heavy for her age. Mother remarked about her weight. Marcia had complained that the other children in school teased her. To this mother had replied, "Well, if you are too fat they are too thin."
>
> Mother was seen during several interviews at which time the doctor's recommendations were explained in such a way that mother was able to act upon the advice. The recommendations were that Marcia should repeat first grade. She had been pushed too hard. She was to be referred for psychiatric treatment.

We have here two mothers whose problems are strikingly similar and where there is the same cultural background. In both cases there were two children, a girl and a boy, the girls being the oldest. In both cases the girls showed deeply disturbed emotional reactions, whereas the boys "were no trouble". In both cases we have mothers who insisted that "something

was wrong" and that the girls needed medical care, unable to face the fact that their own behavior toward the children might be the main factor in their maladjustment although they were familiar with literature on child care. In both cases the girls needed psychiatric treatment. In psychiatric terminology we have rejecting, narcissistic mothers with an emotional blocking toward the real cause of their children's symptoms, which were enuresis, thumb-sucking, nutritional difficulties, hyperactivity, and aggressions.

The causal factors seemed heavily embedded in the mothers' cultural ideology. Both these mothers had, according to their culture, born the "wrongly sexed" child first. The last mother insisted through several of the interviews that she had not minded having a girl first. Yet, she was the mother who exclaimed, "I tell you, she is rotten." She was born in America and had been given the benefit of American ideology from the start. Her mother, however, was "foreign" and her language betrayed her foreignness. It seems that language had become particularly important to this mother and during interviews she would have Marcia repeat her sentences, pronouncing the words for her with slow, correct diction. She had pushed Marcia so hard in reading that the child was maladjusted at school. It seemed that this mother had an unusual desire to push her child into Americanism. Yet, she showed one cultural lag. Marcia was overweight, but when the child complained about being ridiculed, mother responded with hostility toward the American way. "If you are too fat, they are too thin."

Through all the interviews she gave the impression of being insecure, anxious, critical, and hostile. But toward the end of the treatment process she was able to accept the fact that she had "pushed" Marcia too hard.

Worker was able to meet this client with much more insight and forethought gained through contact with Mrs. L. During the one interview with this mother, worker committed the capital mistake of facing the mother too suddenly and too directly with the meaning of the word, "habit". Her very neurosis was challenged, so to speak, and all her anxiety rose to the surface, blocking her from further treatment because worker had not given her enough reassurance to face it. The reason for this was that worker did not take the cultural factor enough into consideration. Through discussion with other case workers it was found that emotional disturbances caused by feeding problems were so common to the Jewish-Russian mothers that some consideration had been given as to whether they should treat these mothers through group therapy. It seemed that, to them, "fat babies" had a special cultural significance, where being "fat" meant being "wealthy", belonging to the right social status.

When the mother in question, therefore, forced food upon her girl child, whereas she did not do this with her boy later, it was as if she thereby was forcing her to be the "right" kind of a child (a boy) and she went to an almost sadistic measure, trying to obtain her goal by pouring food down the child's throat when she opened her mouth to cry, thereby choking her. This mother, being born in Russia, tried hard to take on the American pattern by describing herself as a "club woman". On the surface of the situation, she was "Americanized", but in her deep emotions she was still tied to her former background, setting up a conflict in her of such tension that Dina was described as "an emotionally disturbed child".

We will now turn to the case of -

Mrs. C.

Mrs. C. is a tall, handsome, very well dressed woman, and carries herself with the greatest self-assurance. She is American-Jewish and married to a professional man. There are two children, a boy, Bob, 15, and a girl, Sheila, 8 years of age. Both children are above average in intelligence and have been leading their respective classes in school. Mother is seeking help for Sheila, who has developed into a bed-wetter. Mother felt so ashamed of this process that she had gained several pounds during the last three months, because every time she thought about it she felt like eating to calm her disturbed feelings. They had tried every means from bribery to punishment to have Sheila stop her bedwetting, but with no result. They had finally decided that there was something wrong with Sheila's kidneys, and mother brought her to the hospital for examination. No organic cause was found and she was referred to social service.

During the first interview, mother took over the conversation. She spoke about the good physical aspects of the home, of the strict upbringing of the children who had developed into well-mannered and well behaved youngsters. She brought out that her family and friends thought her too severe with them, but she believed in the "European way" where the children were made to behave and respect the rights of their parents.

She mentioned that she was very fond of her husband, and that there was a close tie between all of them. Now, it seemed as if Sheila's bedwetting was making life miserable for all of them, particularly the mother who felt mortified and ashamed to have a daughter who wet her bed at 8 years of age.

In later interviews, mother addressed worker with an air of "one intelligent person to another". She brought out a great deal of restlessness in regard to herself. She felt that she was entitled to a "life of her own". She had been very conscientious about bringing up her children, but now she felt that they could manage on their own more, leaving her free to do what she wanted to do. She had done war work during the war as a volunteer. She occasionally helped in her father's store. She liked to eat dinner out at times, leaving the children to get supper for themselves.

Bob had just reached adolescence and he was starting to go out with girls, taking them to movies and dances. Sheila had shown some resentment toward him, and had exclaimed, "He can go to everything but I can not."

Her husband had blamed her for going out too much.

The situation here is somewhat different from the two previous situations. Of the two children, the boy is the oldest. The children are bright and doing well in school. But there are also some similarities. Like the other mothers, there is a feeling of "pushing" the children. In this case the mother wants independence for herself. She has been a servant to her family long enough. Now she is entitled to a life of her own apart from her family. She is very domineering of attitude and takes Sheila's bedwetting as a personal insult. Why should Sheila wet her bed when everything in the home is "so nice"?

We have here a woman of American ideology, standing on her "right" as an individual. She is running up against the criticisms of her family, however, her husband, who is also Jewish, her parents and friends. And Sheila is reacting with enuresis. The mother's irrational guilt feelings in the situation take the form of a rationalized shame over the bedwetting. She cannot endure the thought that she has a daughter like that. Here she shows her egotistic trend inasmuch as she is thinking more of herself than Sheila.

Worker was able to see mother during three interviews, during which the meaning of enuresis to the child was explained until the mother could accept it on emotional grounds instead of a "kidney trouble". She was able to accept psychiatric treatment for Sheila, although she had first referred to the guidance clinic as a "place for queer" children.

In all three cases recorded, we have the same cultural pattern manifested to different degrees of intensity. In all cases we have mothers who are very self-assertive, who cannot see that they have anything to do with their children's troubles, and who therefore insist that they are on an

organic basis. We see great insecurity in the mothers, a compulsive need to live up to expectations or standards enforced upon them from without, resulting in insecurity and regressions in their children in the form of thumb-sucking, enuresis, speech defect, and anorexia.

Religion seemed to exist as a matter of form in these cases, and was not brought up for discussion, perhaps because of worker's unfamiliarity with the concepts felt and responded to by the clients. None of the mothers were employed outside the home.

We shall now turn to a different cultural background, the Italian.

Mrs. G.

> Mrs. G. is a tall, dark woman, born in Italy. She came to this country as a young girl, worked as a laundress, and finally married an Italian man. There are two boys in the family. The Catholic faith plays a dominant role in the family picture, the oldest boy being an "altar boy". Religious symbols were to be found all over the house. The family lives in a 3-story house with relatives occupying the other two apartments. Paternal grandfather, 82 years old, is staying with the family. He speaks no English at all. Mother speaks English with an accent, but manages fairly well. The two boys have an involved case history at various hospitals for stomach troubles and infections.
>
> The home is nice in appearance and well kept to the point of rigidity. There is no "hominess" about it. The boys' bedroom was devoid of all toys and looked like the grown-ups' bedroom. A large crucifix was standing on the bureau. Mother spends all her time at home.
>
> Mother was seeking help with Tommy, 4 years old. He was enuretic, and he banged his whole body so forcefully in his bed while sleeping at night that the young girl sleeping in the bedroom below had had to move out because she could not sleep for the constant noise. The child was fast asleep when he did this and mother knew no way out. She and the father did not sleep either. There was a fierce rivalry between the oldest boy and the youngest, recognized by the mother. When she was asked if the neighbors below had complained about the noise, mother answered, "Yes, they have complained; but they all say, 'What can you do?' There is no one to blame."

> Mother felt deeply anxious and felt the need of someone to tell her what to do. Considering the previous illnesses, she brought the child to the hospital, thinking there might be an organic cause. None was found, however.
>
> The maladjustment of the boy was thought so severe that mother was immediately referred to a child guidance clinic.

We have here a mother who showed deep hostility toward the old grandfather living with them, which she was able to verbalize during the second interview. She felt it her "duty", however, to care for him. Italian ideology and Roman Catholic symbolism was strongly expressed through food and pictures. Mother had strong guilt feelings in regard to sex. There was some indication of incest on the part of the grandfather toward the boys, and mother exclaimed, "If he does it again, I will kill him."

On the whole, however, she reacted to her troubles with a sense of duty, trying to do what was expected of her, but with an undercurrent of deep aggression.

The two following cases, also from the hospital setting, represent the Scandinavian cultural pattern.

Mrs. N.

> Mrs. N. is of Norwegian descent, both her father and mother having come from Norway. Her father died while she was still young, and her mother supported the two of them during mother's adolescence. Mother, who is described as an attractive woman, showed early tendencies to want to be with boys. There was constant quarreling between her and grandmother, who complained about mother's running around and of her laziness and unwillingness to work. At last mother became pregnant and grandmother had the bitter experience of being present when her daughter was "read out" of church. In the despair which followed this episode, mother took to drinking. While drunk she once had a heavy fall during her pregnancy. When the child was born, she had a spinal deformity and grandmother blamed mother for this, although doctors told her that the fall need not be the cause of the deformity. Mother took

> to drinking worse than before. She was seen with various men until, after several years, she married the alleged father of Ninnie, who meanwhile had been brought up by grandmother. Ninnie continued to stay on with grandmother, who always thought of her in terms of "my poor little Ninnie". There was constant fighting between mother and grandmother over the child. Mother had another child, a girl, whom father was very fond of, whereas he rejected Ninnie, saying that he was not certain whether he was her father or not. Mother had stopped drinking, was trying to be a good house-mother, and took a great deal of abuse from her husband, trying, nevertheless, to make a go of it.
>
> Ninnie developed both diurnal and nocturnal enuresis and had so strong an odor about her that other children refused to play with her and there were complaints from school. Grandmother brought her to the hospital, thinking that the early spine injury had affected the kidneys. There had been some indication of this in the very early picture. Now it was found that the kidneys functioned normally and the enuresis was established on an emotional basis. The child was seen at a guidance clinic, but grandmother was so uncooperative that treatment was stopped. She was thought "rigid" in her standard of cleanliness and her over-protection of Ninnie made progress impossible.

This mother is rebelling against her own mother because of the latter's demand upon her for early maturity in the sense of taking responsibility for household affairs while grandmother worked. Grandmother did not want mother to go out evenings or to run around with boys. She did not want her to be a "flapper" girl. Mother got into bad company, was easily led, and instead of openly fighting her mother fled into an escape of prostitution and alcoholism. Through her promiscuous relations she satisfied her cravings for love and her emotional needs and when her qualms grew out of hand she drowned them in alcohol. At last she resolved to be a "good mother" and married father, from whom she took a lot of mistreatment.

In the psychiatric terminology we have here a woman with a weak ego, masochistic tendencies inflicting punishment upon herself through her marriage in her need to suffer for her strong guilt feelings. In cultural

terminology we have a strongly "matriarchal" woman with a need to give herself, to yield, to accept, rather than to fight, take in or demand, characteristics prevalent in the "patriarchal" woman. She is in conflict between her Norwegian background which demands that girls shall be responsible and work, and the American environment which dictates that a girl shall be sweet and delicate, shall be adored and protected. Her Norwegian background finally wins the day; she marries the "weak" man, and prepares herself a life of responsibility and toil, which, to an American conception of life, is "punishment". Meanwhile, Ninnie has been caught in the conflict.

The next case to be considered is of Swedish-Swiss cultural background.

Mrs. T.

Mrs. T. is a dark-haired, brown-eyed, full-bodied woman of medium height. She is very moody, self-conscious, and emotionally highstrung. She cries easily and spends much time thinking about herself and her troubles. She is now about 45 and is going through the change of life. She is the only daughter of a French mother and a Swedish father. Mother has always identified strongly with her father and felt in opposition toward her mother. She used to have severe difficulties with menstruation as a young girl; she has had several operations for "female troubles". She was a school teacher before marriage, travelled in Europe, and seemed to have been quite self-assertive of manner. She married a Swedish man six years her junior and of inferior education. He is tall, fair, blue-eyed, easy-going, and docile. He seems sentimental and emotional. His eyes would fill up with tears when relating their difficulties.

They own their house in a suburban area. The house is of very "Swedish" atmosphere. They have one adolescent daughter suffering from severe emotional disturbances of a schizophrenic pattern. She would have periods of moodiness, changing into mania. Annette resembles her father markedly. She was brought to the hospital for observation to verify whether there was an organic disorder. Her behavior disorder was found primarily functional with slightly abnormal brainwaves, shown also in the father.

> Annette was referred for psychiatric treatment, whereas intensive case work was carried on with the mother. She was seen regularly once or twice a week. She was in an emotionally very upset condition. She showed marked aggression toward Annette, who responded with violent or bizarre behavior. Annette showed sexual over-stimulance and would approach the boys in school or men in general. She failed in all her subjects. No actual progress was made with the mother, and no improvement could be seen in Annette, very largely due to ineffective case work treatment with mother who did not change her attitude.
>
> This case was given to case worker because of the Swedish background. Worker, being of Scandinavian descent, took over the case with a feeling of "here is something I know." A feeling of familiarity set in also because mother's married name was the same as worker's.

In this case we see a mother caught in conflict between three cultural patterns, the Swedish, the French, and the American. Her French mother was self-assertive and domineering, and tried to boss her even at this late date in life, particularly in matters regarding Annette. Mother was jealous of her and feared her. She had, however, many of her mother's characteristics. Through her father's people she had been influenced by the Swedish pattern of life, which catered to a strong motherhood. This she was emotionally able to accept in choice of a husband and relationship with him. Because he was much younger than she and of inferior education, she could "mother" him and she had a period of well-being when she was free from her menstrual difficulties. At the birth of Annette, however, her difficulties started again, becoming more pronounced as Annette grew into girlhood and young womanhood. On this level she could not accept motherhood and reacted against it with symptoms which made operations necessary. When she finally was faced with the change of life she reacted so strongly with repressed aggressions as to indicate melancholic episodes at this time, completely rejecting Annette who was replacing her as a woman in the house-

hold. Her young husband and her womanly daughter challenged her individuality as a woman.

On the psychiatric level we see a rejecting, narcissistic, anxiety-ridden woman, emotionally deplored by her daughter, who responded with severe symptoms of schizophrenia.

In cultural terminology we have a mother caught in conflict between three cultural ideologies. From her mother she has taken over a basically insecure personality and aggressive, self-assertive, domineering character traits. She responds to this by becoming the directing, controlling school teacher. In this pattern she is also taking over the American pattern of the individualistic woman with "equal rights", but instead of following this pattern to a finish she breaks off, marries the "inferior" man, mothers him, and yields herself to him in characteristic "matriarchal" fashion.

But she does not follow this pattern through, either. At the birth of Annette she reverts back to her mother's pattern and, inasmuch as she had felt herself the "wrongly" sexed child to her mother, being a girl, Annette became the "wrongly" sexed child, too. During the time when Annette most surely announced her sex by beginning her menstrual cycle, mother was thrown into utter confusion among the various cultural ideologies. She now went back to teaching, tutoring, and directing church choirs in the Protestant Church. Annette responded with a split personality pattern, having no clear-cut womanly role to imitate.

In this case we shall give special attention to the case work treatment.

Case worker took over the case, confident of success in her relation-

ship with client on the basis of common cultural backgrounds. Case worker was aware of the importance of cultural backgrounds, but had not given any special thought to the subject as related to case work. Her reaction of confidence was therefore invalid and based on ignorance, as we shall see.

To begin with, all went well. But because of the severity of the emotional disturbance, many conferences were necessary with doctors and supervisors. During these conferences mother showed up to great disadvantage as to adequacy and maturity of personality. Case worker, recognizing the characteristics of the Scandinavian pattern of inferiority complexes and introvert behavior, displaying to Americans the "sick" side of Scandinavian life, became rejecting of mother as the cause of this unfortunate display, over-identifying with Annette as the victim of circumstances and extremely defensive and over-protective of client during conferences. This severely damaged the case work treatment during a time when it was crucial that it should have been effective. It was not until the situation was openly faced with supervisor and doctor that case worker understood the full meaning of this involved process. Instead of being helpful, the awareness of the cultural background was here damaging because it was superficial and had not measured the irrational prejudices on the part of the worker toward her own cultural ideology and what it meant to her.

The cases so far presented have been from the hospital setting. We shall now turn to the study home setting. The first two cases represent the Irish background.

Mrs. A.

> Mrs. A. is a slender, girlish-looking, blue-eyed woman of 30. She is very fair, has exceptionally fine skin, and is described as a "hysterical personality" who, every now and then, at periodic intervals, resorts to some sickness or trouble and gets herself interned in a hospital. She was one of nine children. Her mother was known as a professional prostitute and mother got a court record for soliciting men for her mother. Her father was drinking and paid no attention to his family. Mother's girlhood was traumatic on account of her mother. At an early age she married an Albanian, so much older than herself that he could have been her father. This was apparently also the role she designated to him. He had promised her that there should be no children. When she nevertheless became pregnant, she grew hysterical and after the birth of the child, a girl, she threatened to commit infanticide and suicide both. She had to be under hospital care. While here she ran away. When brought back, she became pregnant with a second child, but this time she did not respond with hysteria. She accepted the pregnancy. There is some evidence that it might have been an illicit affair, but father never questioned paternity. He received his wife back in his protective way. She gave birth to a son, which she announced was "her" child, whereas the girl was father's. A good bit of tension and jealousy developed between the children. The girl looks like her Albanian father, the boy like his Irish mother.
>
> The girl, Linda, shows no symptom, whereas the boy, Dick, who strongly identifies with mother, is showing her hysterical characteristics. He suffers from enuresis and has reading difficulties in school. Linda was baptized Protestant, and Dick Greek Catholic.

This is a mother with a "matriarchal" ideology. Her mother, however, was showing this through the neurotic symptom of prostitution and alcoholism. On this mother-image mother built her personality. She was deeply emotional, but her emotions also were expressed on a neurotic pattern, hysterical episodes, and early prostitution. It was as if she were arrested in her development. She remained "a kid" as father used to say, and he accepted her in a daughter role. When pregnancy followed, she could not "take it" from the father figure, but revolted as if it had been "incest".

When her child, according to Roman Catholic concept, was the "wrong" child, she rejected her promptly. She turned against Catholicism and turned Protestant. When her boy was born, she could accept him, probably because he was both the "right" sexed child and also because, in her own mind at least, he was a "prostitution child" and so not a "father-child".

After this she became more defined in her mother role. She also took work outside the home and gained great emotional satisfaction at this sign of independence. Father did not like it. Coming from Albania, where "the woman's place is in the home," he could accept mother's work only on the basis of treatment, but not as contributing to the family's support. To give in this way was the mother's need, however, and only when working did she seem to function successfully as a mother.

The cultural ideology is here somewhat confused because it is based on the neurotic symptom of "matriarchal" trend, but basically she displays the "matriarchal" characteristics. She has the need to give and to be independent. When she feels too "protected", she reacts by running away. This in itself is the "matriarchal" sign, to escape rather than to fight.

Dicky, who is identifying with the neurotic parent, suffers symptoms because of his split loyalties to two different ideologies.

The next case is also of Irish background.

Mrs. D.

> Mrs. D. is of Irish parentage. She was Protestant by birth, but turned Roman Catholic upon marriage to father. She had four boys, but when the youngest, Ronnie, was 2 years old mother deserted her family. She went to work as a waitress and was known for prostitution and alcoholism.
>
> The children were placed in a number of different foster homes.

> Ronnie, the youngest, lacked this most important person-to-person mother relationship as described by Dr. Clothier, and he turned out a chronic runaway and delinquent.

Not much interpretation can be made here, except that mother strongly displayed the "matriarchal" reaction pattern when faced with distress. She changed from the Protestant ideology to the Roman Catholic, then ran away from it all into prostitution and alcoholism.

Mrs. W.

> Mrs. W. is a large, blonde woman of 29, with a very earnest face. She is Episcopalian by faith. She came to this country from England when she was 18 years old. She was an orphan and had been brought up in an institution. She married shortly after coming to this country. She had a son, Ralph. The marriage turned out a failure. Father went to war and mother went to work. She met another man and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to another boy. Father had been told, but although she wanted a divorce, father refused. On the other hand, he did not come back to live with her. She moved into a home with the second man, and they have been living in a steady relationship since. Mother quit working during pregnancy, but has worked off and on since. She is at present not working since the boy, Ralph, showed severe symptoms of maladjustment. Both children call both men "father". Ralph's father comes to see him every now and then, and Elmer's father lives in the house.
>
> Ralph has been referred for psychiatric observation.

In this case mother has been brought up in the "patriarchal" ideology of a navy institution, her father being a naval officer. She reacts characteristically by wanting a man to provide for her and the children, relieving her of work outside. There is an illegitimate child, but she lives with the father of the child in an absolutely monogamistic setting, in contrast to the polygamistic setting of the prostitute where a man is important for the emotional satisfaction rather than for support.

Ralph has, nevertheless, been caught in the dilemma of having two

strongly contrasting father figures.

Miss O.

> Miss O. is a Greek girl. She was born here, but her parents were born in Greece. Her father speaks English very well, but her mother not at all except for a few scattered words. Miss O. speaks Greek, but not with the ease with which she speaks English. She never was close to her mother. She always went to another family member with her troubles and she thinks, herself, because of her mother's lack of knowledge of the English language. When mother became pregnant, it was her aunt who helped her get aid. It was her father, cousin, and brother who took charge of the affair and arranged it so that the family name should not be disgraced. Miss O. was provided for far away from her home town and the family paid all expenses to avoid public relief in their home town. After the boy was born, it was the brother who contacted the placement home whenever contact with family was needed.
>
> Miss O. seemed helpless in the midst of it all, immature and confused. She complained that it was impossible to grow up "a Greek girl in America". If she wanted to do what the American girls were doing, she ran into difficulties with her family, who had different ideas. She was planning to run away. She tried it, but resorted to her family again shortly afterward.

We see here a typical "patriarchal" set-up. There is great concern over the "family name" (father's name). To keep this from being "shamed", everything must be sacrificed. We also find a strongly protective atmosphere. We see that Miss O's mother has been kept in this protected atmosphere to such an extent that she has not had to learn English. This has set up a conflict in Miss O., who feels she cannot talk to her mother. In fact, she seems to react strongly against her mother and her "Greek-ness" and the strict fatherly control and her illegitimate child may be her revolt against that set-up. When she ran away, she returned almost immediately to the "matriarchal" protection and did not show any of the independence of the girl of "matriarchal" trend. The boy has been boarded out and the

family takes no personal interest in him whatsoever, in contrast to a "matriarchal" family set-up where the illegitimate child is often welcomed into the family.

Mrs. B.

> Mrs. B. is an intelligent, dark complexioned woman with French features, of Canadian descent. She was very strictly brought up and gives the impression of being too meticulous in regard to appearance. She is married to a man with less education than herself, but an industrious, hard worker who has worked himself up to a supervisory position in his line. Mother took some outside work for a while. She liked it very much, but father objected. He did not feel that it was "home" with mother out working, and she had to give it up.
>
> They are sincere Roman Catholics and there are several priests in the family.
>
> There are two children, Tony afed 10, and Tom aged 8. When mother was carrying Tom, she suffered a severe attack of sinus trouble which necessitated drug therapy. The doctor expected abortion. After Tom was born mother recovered and she has never had the same ailment since.
>
> Tom, however, developed a very bizarre personality which brought mother close to a nervous breakdown and he was sent in for psychiatric observation which showed a very deficient mental capacity.

In her way of dressing, in her over-fussiness about the way Tom looks, the way his hair is combed or his shoes tied, she gives us a definite picture of insecurity and anxiety and we see again the tendency to respond to expectations from without rather than from inner promptings, so prevalent in the patriarchal set-up. Whether her severe attack of sinus during her pregnancy with Tom was caused by emotional factors is unverified, but judging by her general anxiety pattern it is a factor to be taken into consideration, particularly since her first child had been a girl. Mother harbors a very strong guilt-feeling toward the boy. She fears that she is in

some way to blame. Here, again, we see a woman trying to free herself from the "patriarchal" control by creating a place for herself as an individual through a career in true American fashion. Although father admits that she is "quicker" than he, she is, nevertheless, by pressure from him and her society, forced back into the house, where she is faced with so strong an anxiety, caused both by guilt over the boy's defect and hostility, and aggression over not being allowed to work, that she is near a collapse. The two ideologies at work here are the strongly patriarchal French-Canadian and the individualistic American.

The last case to be considered is conspicuous in its cultural implications.

Mrs. K.

> Mrs. K. is a fair, blue-eyed woman of medium height, 41 years of age. She has a rounded, full body and a stereotyped smile which is not reflected in her eyes. On the contrary, they express a tense, anxious personality. She is cautious of movement and deliberate of speech, is extremely polite and seemingly submissive, but one has the feeling that this submissiveness covers a deep, hostile aggression. She is over-simple in her way of dressing, displaying masculine preferences. Her clothes are cheap and she wears her hair in turban-like hats, completely hiding her hair.
>
> Mother was born in New England of old Anglo-Saxon stock. Her father had earned a considerable reputation as an inventor. He died when she was a little girl, leaving the family with considerable means. Mother's mother was one of the early pioneers of professional women in this country. Mother's brothers and sisters all received college educations from outstanding schools. Mother's education was lower than that of the rest of the family, but she did, nevertheless, obtain professional training in child education. Her brothers and sisters are all married to the "right" kind of people and have comfortable homes. Mother's mother is an attractive, motherly woman, well groomed, conservatively dressed in good taste. She has remarkably blue eyes and gives a very fair impression. She admitted that mother had been her "problem" child. She had never wanted to mind from the time she was a little girl.

Mother has been married three times. The first husband was a professional man like her own father, but mother claimed he had married her on commercial grounds for what he could get out of her and divorce followed. There was one daughter from this marriage, who remained with her father. Mother's second husband was a New Englander, like herself, fair and blue-eyed. But he was conspicuously below her in social standing and education. He was a sailor and represented brute physical force. He was a heavy drinker, and while drunk went into sexual orgies with mother, who became deeply frightened of him. There was a boy, Robert, in this marriage. Mother nearly suffered a nervous breakdown. She finally divorced him and went back to live with her mother for a period of several years. She went to work, shifted about quite a bit, and finally married a third time, a man of Turkish descent.

This man is small of build, slim, dark, sharp of features, with a prominent nose, a large mouth with full lips, and fiery, black, oriental eyes. His parents were both from Syria. They speak the Syrian language and act and live "Turkish fashion" with one rule superior to all others: obey thy father.

Step-father, who very much objected to his Syrian background, has developed a hatred of all "strong men" because he was constantly whipped by his father as a boy. He finally ran away. He educated himself as a master plumber, and, according to mother, was "far above his family". Yet, step-father gave a very unkempt impression, and smelled noticeably of "shop" during interviews. He used to come right from work without bothering to clean up. He claims to be very much in love with his wife, who "adores" him in return. Step-father has taken a great interest in Robert, who now is 8 years old. However, step-father does not know anything about children. He says that he does not love the boy, but he feels very ambitious of having a son. Since mother cannot have any more children, he welcomed Robert as his own. However, he has no insight into the child's emotional life whatsoever. He treats him like a block of wood which he is going to hew according to his own will without any consideration as to whether Robert either has the ability to be or wants to be what step-father has decided, namely an engineer. He expected the most submissive behavior from Robert, in the minutest details as well as in big issues. If Robert did not conform, a round of whippings with a leather strap followed. It grew worse and worse. The boy became very negativistic, failed in school, and showed delinquent behavior. The marriage threatened to break up in controversies over Robert. Mother thought stepfather too strict, yet, when demanded to "back him up" in his harsh treatment of Robert, she did so by also whipping him for the same offence he had already been whipped for by step-father. Mother developed "symptoms"

> as well as Robert. She had severe migraine headaches and could not get out of bed for days. When mother's mother came to visit, these headaches grew worse. A noticeable tension sprang up between grandmother and step-father. Grandmother thoroughly disapproved of both his person and his treatment of Robert, which she considered far from the American idea of bringing up a child.
>
> Robert was finally referred for psychiatric observation. The diagnosis showed Robert to be of high intelligence, but cowed and beaten down, timid and insecure. Intensive case work with parents was recommended.

We have here a mother who, from childhood, has shown deep emotional disturbances. She grew very negativistic toward her mother at an early age, remaining markedly dependent on her even at the age of 41. She, of all the children, took up her mother's profession, but instead of practicing it she went into business to earn more money. When she married, she got involved with three men who all, in progressive degree, challenged her mother's standard of living, philosophy of life, and family tradition. Her mother represents modern America, the intellectual woman with an independent career, who has a standing in the community on her own merit, apart from that of her husband or family.

Mother was obviously in deep opposition to this type of a mother-figure and showed it in negativistic behavior as a child and neurotic behavior through her choice of husbands. At forty-one she picked out someone as far removed from her mother's personal as well as professional approval as could be thought possible. For her dignified, blue-eyed, professional mother, displaying mastery in calmness and poise, she picked out a swarthy-looking, black-eyed "Arab", a representative of the most undiluted patriarchal pattern, who went into emotional frenzies over the slightest detail, who was despotic in his demands, jealous and cruel. Mother was, of course,

not aware of her motivations, nor was she conscious of wanting an "Arab" husband, but this man was the type who best fulfilled the need of her neurotic craving and deep hostile aggressions.

The diagnosis of Robert had revealed that there was nothing wrong with the boy, as is so often the case, but that the trouble was buried in his emotionally confused and unstable mother, who had even gotten him and herself deeply involved in irrational prejudices, rejections, and irreconcilable conflicts on the cultural-traditional level.

It became necessary to see both parents and Robert very frequently for a while in order to clarify the problem to them in such a way that they could accept it and act upon it. The stepfather had to be made conscious of his "Turkish" way with Robert and made to realize that he was imposing the very pattern upon Robert which had made him hate his father and finally run away from home. Considering father's whole attitude, the Director of the institution interpreted these facts to stepfather in the capacity of "highest authority", which stepfather could tolerate. He promised not to whip Robert again, and he gave credit to mother for knowing more about children and how emotions worked than himself. Up to this time he had not taken mother seriously, believing her to be just an over-indulgent mother, although he was aware of mother's professional training.

Case worker was able to work successfully with both Robert and parents through constant contact and supervision over a period of weeks. As things started to run more smoothly, stepfather asked point-blank to have worker's authority removed, since he felt his own paternal authority challenged. New explanations and a simple translation of transference had to be given and preparations made for less intensive treatment.

The case work process as a whole was successful as for the immediate situation, probably because case worker had personal knowledge of stepfather's culture and in some measure could foresee his reactions. As for the deep-seated irrational disturbances on the part of both mother and father, this was not worked with at the time, since the problem was focused on Robert. However, expert help in this area will undoubtedly be needed in the future if the marriage is going to last. Mother is already showing her repressed aggressions through migraine headaches.

Evaluation

When we now take all twelve cases presented in this Chapter into consideration, we find answers to the two following questions: 1. Does the case worker meet case work problems of specific cultural implications; and 2. Is awareness of cultural aspects enough, or is a more thorough knowledge needed?

To the first question we can definitely answer, yes, a case worker has opportunity to deal with deeply buried emotional disturbances based on a cultural pattern.

To the second question the answer is, no, it is not enough to have cultural awareness only. In fact, where we think we have the greatest cultural awareness, namely related to our own cultural pattern, it is possible to commit the most serious mistakes because here the activated emotions are most strongly operating on the irrational level. The Swedish mother with her schizophrenic daughter clearly illustrates this point as related to treatment by a Norwegian case worker. It seems very definitely indicated that a thorough knowledge of cultural backgrounds is needed, both of "own"

culture and "foreign" cultures. The last point is illustrated through the failure of case work with the West Indian negro mother because case worker was totally unaware of the various negro classifications. One case was also lost in the Jewish-Russian group because of case worker's too direct challenge of mother's own anxiety neurosis based on a cultural level.

The case work process showed considerable improvement as case worker (writer), through the growing material of this study, penetrated into the deeper significance of the cultural environmental level.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Although case workers are aware of the fact that a cultural background is important as a formative agent operating in the client's life, it is, nevertheless, natural to say that, after all, the great majority of clients met with in social agencies are "American" clients and therefore presenting no unique cultural conflicts discernible as such. This statement does not stand up, however, when exposed to the latest sociological, anthropological and psychiatric research. We cannot disregard the fact that America more than any other country today, Russia excepted, represents the kind of civilization where we cannot "escape the various cultures as succession of cultures in time".[1] The case work material in this study also reveals that a case worker on a very realistic basis is confronted with the cultural problems ranging over a wide scale of "purity" and intensity. It contradicts the validity of Inabel Burns Lindsay's point of view when she says:[2] "Workers of good will and excellent capacity still often fall into the error of thinking of the clients of minority groups first of all as members of these groups rather than as people with problems." Through this statement the author, although writing on the importance of cultural awareness, seems to be unduly influenced by psychiatric concepts. She reveals this further as

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[1] Benedict, op.cit., p. 16.

[2] Inabel Burns Lindsay, "Race as a Factor in the Case Work Role," Journal of Social Case Work, March, 1947.

she goes on to quote Mrs. Ruth Smith, who, in a meeting of the National Conference of Social Work in 1946, stated:

> The white case worker who says to herself, "I have a Negro client" . . . immediately sets into motion all the attitudes and feeling tones she has acquired in her own life, both consciously and unconsciously.[3]

According to the case work material of the former Chapter it seems necessary not only to be aware of the fact that we have "a Negro client" but that we are dealing with "a Negro client from the South," or "a Negro client from the North," or "a Negro client from the West Indies". In each case we strike a client whose emotional organization is different according to whether he experienced life as a negro in the matriarchal group of the South, in the patriarchal group of the West Indian setting, or the "individualistic" group of the Northern industrial centers, as the case material also brought out. But even this is not enough. If the American case worker is also conscious of the fact that "American" is spelled with capital "A" in contrast to "negro" which is spelled with a small "n" in the American language, she is well on the way to not giving herself over to too many irrational reactions.

As case workers we cannot afford to shy away from our own conscious or unconscious prejudices under the rationalization that a negro mother is "just another mother with a problem". We are only bending over backward in an unconscious attempt to avoid our unconscious fear of a subject surcharged with emotional content. Perhaps the very fact that she is a negro mother has a deep meaning to her. It had to the negro West Indian mother with whom writer dealt, and if it has, a case worker cannot afford to remain

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[3] Ibid.

unaware of this meaning.

Any case worker is surely aware of whether she deals with a "man" or a "woman" client and interprets her facts accordingly. However, when we make this distinction in our thinking we are just as apt to arouse irrational as well as unconscious bias, fears and aggressions. But because we have accepted this, because innumerable case workers have sought to clarify their thinking in this area through the psychoanalytic process, we do not think of applying the same rule here as Miss Lindsay advocates when she says we ought to think of all clients in regard to race and cultural groups as "people with problems". We have through psychiatry gained a much too fundamental knowledge of what is involved in being a "man" or "woman" to commit the fallacy of treating them in the neuter. Why should we, then, commit this mistake in regard to the various cultural backgrounds?

The deeper we enter into the study of comparative cultures, the more convinced must we become that the culture in which a person has been reared extends deep and profound psychological implications to the reaction pattern of any given individual. This study shows in a modest way that being a woman in a matriarchally oriented culture is a very different thing from being a woman in a patriarchally oriented culture and that the difference is biologically determined inasmuch as it is the factor that she is a woman and not a man which gives her role and status characteristic of her individual culture.

A change in culture is, therefore, deeply emotionally disturbing, not because it means a different way of doing things, but a different way of feeling things. It means a change of role determined by the biological

factor of maleness versus femaleness in the given cultures. But if we have been willing to toy with this problem of maleness versus femaleness on the individual psychiatric level, why should we not be just as willing to face it on the cultural level? If we are able to say, "I have a mother client," why should we not be just as willing to say, "I have a negro mother client"? The answer is that we have less knowledge about our cultural psyche than we have about our individual psyche. But if a case worker is deeply aware of her own cultural make-up and of what this culture means to her and its significance in her various relationships, she is not likely to be in danger of falling into the predicament mentioned by Mrs. Smith.

As the writer indicated in the first Chapter, it has been brought out by anthropology and child psychology both that it is not enough to think of mothers filing in and out of child guidance clinics, study homes, hospitals and family agencies in increasing numbers as mothers faced with "problem children", but rather as "problem mothers" with maladjusted children. We have to see them as mothers and children faced with conflicts manifesting themselves against a background of a Greek, a Jewish, a Norwegian, a negroid, an American philosophy of life, where the psychiatrist is treating the symptomatic behavior in the child on the individualistic psychiatric level, whereas it is left conspicuously up to the case workers to deal with the causative factor very often centered in the cultural conflicts of the mother. As seen from this study as well as from other studies, only when the case work treatment with the mothers is positive is the prognosis for a successful treatment of the child good.

The case worker has the unique opportunity of seeing the patients or

clients in the natural setting of their homes, whereas the psychiatrists are seeing the children in the "staged" or unnatural setting of the clinic or office. The case worker, then, is in a position to draw material from sources closed to the doctor. To the extent to which the case worker is efficient in reading the socio-cultural expressions of her client is her "social history" going to be adequate. Earlier in the paper, Dr. Marian C. Putnam was quoted, pointing to the tremendous importance of the social histories in the treatment of disturbed children. She revealed that after long years of experience it had come to be proved more and more that the children's disturbances had been caused by environmental factors which it sometimes took a long time to get at.

In regard to the social histories and the client's environment, social case workers have a unique contribution to offer, not as psychiatric handmaidens, but as experts in a special field yet to be developed within the area of social case work, where it is understood that no social history is complete which does not fully present the inter-cultural factors which contribute to making the present environment into what it is.

It was the writer's hypothesis as stated in Chapter I that we, as case workers, need to become fully and consciously aware of the dynamics of our own cultural background, as well as of the cultural backgrounds of our clients and their meaning to them in the dynamic sense.

It seems as if the clinical results of the study bear out this point.

Recommendations

There can be no disagreement on the score that the mother-child relationship is the most fundamental and decisive of all types of relationships

Single fallacy

and that upon the effectiveness or failure on this score all later adjustments are made.

It seems to the writer that the social work profession can hardly avoid facing this challenge, dealing so largely with mothers in the hundreds and thousands all over the country, and the first question must be: What can we do as a profession to diminish the long files of mothers who daily have to resort to clinics for help with their children? What is the cause of trouble?

Dr. Mowrer[4] answers the question for us through his statement that the American women are confused about what it is to be a "proper woman". He states further that the American women do not know how to be "good wives", nor how to be "good mothers", an accusation also brought against them by many a returned veteran who has been abroad and discovered life differently. Dr. Mowrer feels that women need more education in this particular area. They need to be told, to be shown what it is to be a "proper woman". They need to verbalize an ideal as to what they think a "real mother" should be, an ideal around which the selective principle might set to work in the American culture. As it is, Dr. Mowrer calls the American mothers "flapper mothers", indicating their immaturity and adolescent confusion.

There seems no question, considering the progressively increasing length of the waiting lists to the child guidance clinics, that we ought to do more thinking in this area: What is a real "mother" who knows how to give what it takes to the child?

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[4] O. Hobart Mowrer, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Education, Harvard University.

This issue cannot be covered on the psychiatric level because psychiatry is mainly concerned with what in this connection would be symptomatic treatment. Even what might seem causal treatment from the standpoint of the individual could not be anything but symptomatic if related to a cultural ideology.

The only way in which we can find out is by comparing contemporary cultures built around different types of mother-ideals and consider the emotional and psychological effects upon the character development of the children and, through them, on their respective civilizations.

It seems as though it is the obligation of every school of social work to offer its students a course where they take up for conscious study various aspects of motherhood in contemporary cultures and their dynamic meaning as related to the case work process, where the students would have to consider for objective criticism opposing life philosophies in order to help them clarify their thinking in regard to their own philosophy of life, the whys and wherefores.

In this way the students would be helped to meet their mother-clients with a more mature concept of their problems as mothers through the inter-cultural infiltration as shown in the previous study, particularly since the average case worker entering the schools of social work tends to be younger and younger, with little or no objective conception of motherhood.

Approved

Richard K. Conant

Richard K. Conant, Dean

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